

# THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



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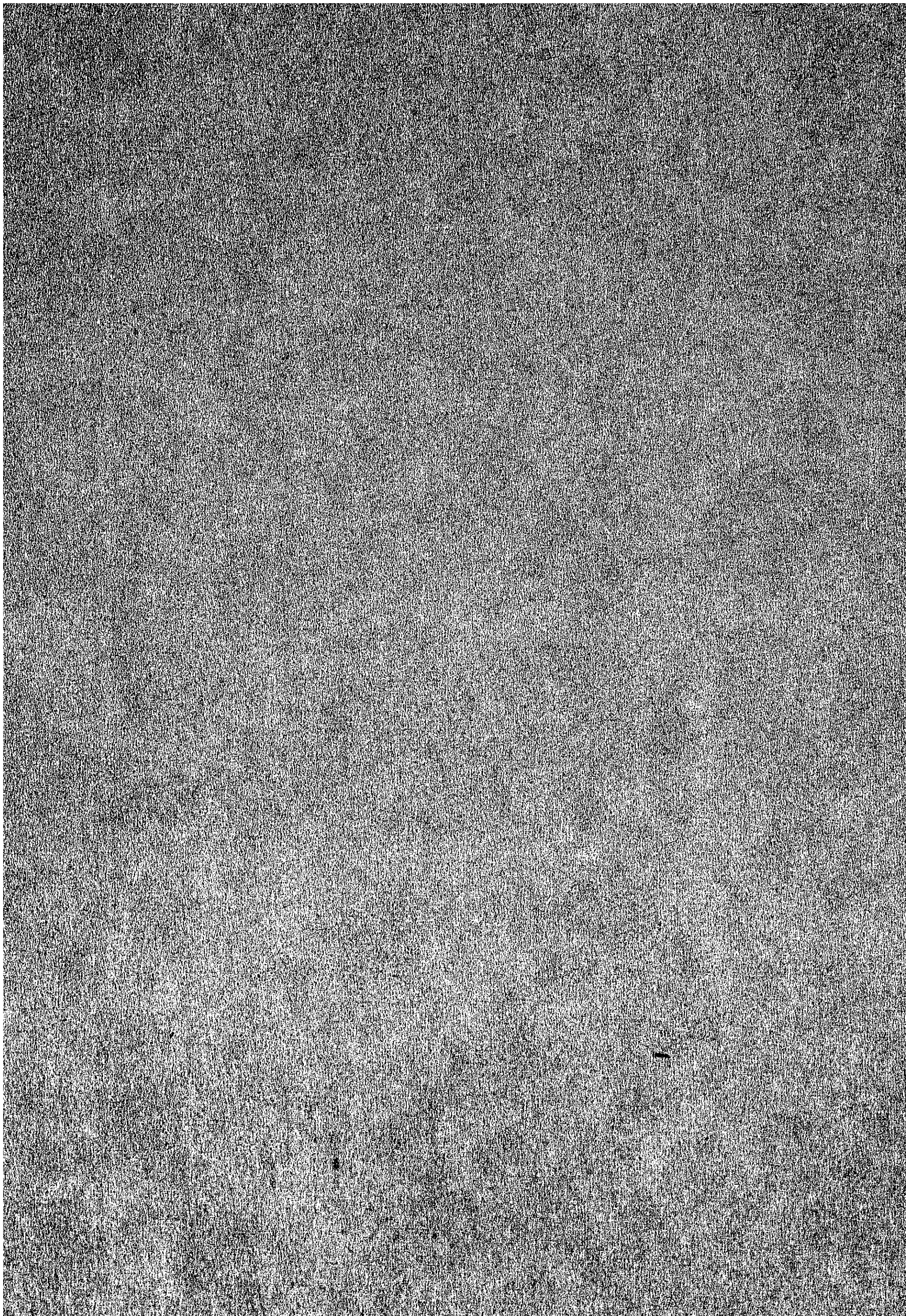
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ALABAMA STATE DEPARTMENT

OF

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MILO B. HOWARD, Jr., Editor

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GABRIEL MOORE

From a miniature in the Alabama Department of  
Archives and History







## THE EARLY CAREER OF GABRIEL MOORE

By

John M. Martin

Born and educated in North Carolina, Gabriel Moore moved to Mississippi Territory early in the Nineteenth Century and soon embarked upon a political career which carried him to the governorship of Alabama and the Senate of the United States. In May, 1807, he was licensed to practice law in Mississippi Territory; and he was one of the lawyers who presented credentials when the first superior court was held at Twickenham, now Huntsville, Alabama. In 1810 he was appointed tax collector and assessor of Madison County. In this capacity, Moore was responsible not only for the administration of revenue laws but also the supervision of the census of 1810. During the same period, he served as aide-de-camp to General Ferdinand L. Claiborne.<sup>1</sup>

In 1811 Moore was elected to the House of Representatives of Mississippi Territory from Madison County and continued to hold the position until Mississippi attained statehood and Madison County was incorporated into Alabama Territory. During the first four sessions of his attendance, Moore was an active member, both in regular meetings and committee work. Among other contributions, he presented a bill to have the name of the town of Twickenham changed to Huntsville. In 1815 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives and served in that capacity during the 1815 and 1816 sessions.<sup>2</sup>

After the formation of Alabama Territory, Moore continued

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Chambers Betts, *Early History of Huntsville Alabama 1804 to 1870* (Montgomery, 1916), 21; Parke Walton to Moore, January 20, 1810; F. L. Claiborne to Henry Dangerfield, December 3, 1811, Mississippi Territorial Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson; David Holmes to Gabriel Moore, November 10, 1810, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, VI, *The Territory of Mississippi 1809-1817* (Washington, 1938), 133.

<sup>2</sup>*Journal of the House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory (1811-1816)*, *passim*.

to represent Madison County. Elected to the territorial House of Representatives, he was chosen speaker in the first session held in January, 1818; however, he, apparently for personal reasons, did not serve in the second session. In 1819 he was chosen to represent Madison County in the Alabama constitutional convention and was placed on the committee to draft rules. On a number of occasions, he took positions which show him as a more liberal member of the convention. For example, he moved that senators be elected for two-year terms instead of three and favored the reduction of the minimum age for representatives from twenty-three to twenty-one and the election of judges for six-year terms instead of on good behavior. Moore moved that a provision be added to the constitution permitting any member of either house to have "liberty to dissent from and protest against any act or resolution" which he thought injurious to the public or individuals and to have "the reasons for his dissent entered on the Journals."<sup>3</sup>

Elected to the Alabama senate following adoption of the new constitution, Moore was made chairman of the rules committee and took a lead in devising and securing adoption of senate rules. He was a leader in a movement to have the Alabama legislature pass resolutions applauding General Andrew Jackson for his part in the Florida campaign against the Seminoles. In 1820 Moore was chosen President of the Senate and, as a consequence, was less active thereafter in general debates. In 1821 he resigned from the body to seek a seat in the Congress of the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Moore's opponents for Alabama's single seat in the House of Representatives were George W. Owen and Silas Dinsmoor. Although Owen carried some South Alabama counties, Moore's popularity in North Alabama was so great that it was possible for him to win by an overwhelming vote. He carried Madison

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<sup>3</sup>*Journal of the Legislative Council of the Alabama Territory*, January, 1818, 4; *Journal of the House of Representatives, Alabama Territory*, November, 1818, 4; *Journal of the Convention of the Alabama Territory Begun July 5, 1819* (Huntsville, 1819), 3, 4, 21, 24, 29, 35.

<sup>4</sup>*Journal of the Senate of the State of Alabama*, 1819, 3, 5, 26, 47, 51; 1820, 3; *Huntsville Republican*, July 20, 1821.



County by more than a four-to-one margin and received 999 votes of 1,006 cast in Jackson County. Only once in his next three contests for seat in the House of Representatives did Moore face opposition. Owen joined him in the body after Alabama obtained additional representatives following the census of 1820.<sup>5</sup>

In Congress one of Moore's first duties was to secure adequate representation for Alabama in the reapportioned House of Representatives. He favored a ratio of one representative for each fifty thousand people rather than a ratio of one for each forty thousand; for, he pointed out, the latter plan would leave a large fraction of Alabamians unrepresented. With a rapidly growing population, moreover, the state's underrepresentation would become even greater. Moore defended strongly an amendment to the reapportionment bill permitting the population of six Alabama counties to be counted, even though the death of a United States marshal had prevented a return from being made within the required period. A census had been taken in five of the six counties, he said, by officers under oath, which showed that Alabama had sufficient population to justify an additional representative. The amendment was designed to assure the state "just and fair representation." Were it defeated, over fifty thousand white inhabitants of Alabama would not be represented.<sup>6</sup>

During the first session of Moore's first term, he also fought for the welfare of prospective landholders. In one resolution, later defeated, he asked that the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire into "the expediency of authorizing the sale of public lands by entry, in lots of forty acres." Such an arrangement, he explained, would make possible the sale of land that would not otherwise be sold and would "enable honest but poor men to become proprietors." In a second resolution, also defeated, he proposed that the Committee on Public Lands inquire into "the expediency of granting pre-emption rights to

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<sup>5</sup>Huntsville *Republican*, August 24, 1821; *Montgomery Republican*, August 25, 1821.

<sup>6</sup>*Annals of Congress*, Seventeenth Congress, First Session, 938, 1168-1169.

settlers on the public lands" who had settled prior to a date in 1819 to be specified later.<sup>7</sup>

Following the dismissal of the Receiver at the Huntsville Land Office because of dishonesty, Moore asked that the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to furnish information about how much money had been lost by the government and other details concerning operation of the land office. He suspected government losses would equal the amount of the Receiver's indebtedness to the government for purchases of public lands. If so, there was proof of the need for forbidding receivers of revenue for public lands from buying lands. Under the existing system, they could purchase land individually or join companies formed for the purpose of speculation, bidding against the honest man, the actual improver of the soil who wanted to have a farm and raise a family, and, in some cases, using government money to obtain the land. The "honest yeomanry" were thus being driven away, and "foreign speculators" were claiming the land. He wished assurance that the real settlers would be given a fair opportunity to obtain the spot of land which had been "rendered valuable by their own labor."<sup>8</sup>

At the following session, Moore introduced a resolution instructing the Committee on Public Lands to consider a bill to prevent land office receivers from purchasing lands, either directly or indirectly, at public or private sale. There was, he said, an inconsistency in permitting government employees to become land purchasers. Through the government money he held, the receiver had great power for evil, and the temptation was great. In one case in Alabama, a receiver had purchased 44,646 acres at a price of over \$300,000 and had defrauded the government of over \$81,900. But, more serious, great damage had been inflicted on immigrants to the state. Using government money, the receiver had been able to bid against them and acquire their lands and homes made valuable by their labor and industry. In light of the attitude Congress had taken toward efforts to secure pre-emption rights for actual settlers and to

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<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 1269.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 1614-1615.



protect them from "the unfeeling grasp of the land speculator," however, Moore feared that no relief would be given. The "privation and suffering of the honest emigrant," who penetrated the wilderness, improved the land, and defended the frontier, no longer excited the sympathies of Congress. Generous policies, it seemed, had been abandoned.<sup>9</sup>

Re-elected without opposition in 1823, Moore took part in debates over the Tariff of 1824. The South, he said, was an agricultural region. It was not and could not be made into a manufacturing section, for that would be contrary to the habits, customs, and interests of its people. Even if the southern planter was denied the privilege of taking his produce to the market of his choice and taking in return articles most useful to him; even if public revenues were reduced by tariff revision; even if one section was oppressed for the aggrandizement of another, the order of nature would not be changed. "The Southern people, after all these sacrifices and violations of their rights, must still be agriculturalists," he declared, "and the cotton of the South will still cross the Atlantic."

Moore was particularly opposed to a high duty on cotton bagging. He denied that a tax on bagging would fall on the consumer. Perhaps the doctrine could be applied to broadcloth or coarse woolens, but not to a product not sold to the consumer as merchandise. The purchaser of raw cotton would not take into account the "extravagant price" which the bagging had cost the producer. Under the existing duty on the product, a fair competition existed between American and European manufacturers, and a considerable revenue was derived from its importation. Under the proposed duty, foreign bagging would be excluded and the revenue lost. "You create," he charged, "a monopoly in the sale of this article for the benefit of the West, at the sacrifice of the South." The South had suffered from such a monopoly during the War of 1812 when it had been dependent on the West and had had to pay two prices for a product never in adequate supply.

Much had been said about doing "equal justice to every part

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<sup>9</sup>*Annals of Congress*, Seventeenth Congress, Second Session, 676-678.

of the Union." Moore called on those from other sections to honor the precept. The duties on coarse woollens and iron, he said, were most oppressive on the South. Southerners had to have woollens with which to clothe their slaves and iron products for many purposes. They could not raise their own wool or manufacture iron products. Moore protested against high duties on items "indispensable to the prosperity of the agricultural profession." On other occasions, he sought to ameliorate the evils of the bill and voted against its final passage; however, he and other opponents were unable to prevent the passage of a somewhat modified version.<sup>10</sup>

Although Moore did not make a reported speech relating to the General Survey Bill passed in 1824, he voted for it, and after its passage, joined with others to request early surveys of routes to link the Alabama and Tennessee river systems and to permit navigation at Muscle Shoals. Action was not taken immediately, even though John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, gave encouragement. Nor was an early survey made of a possible road through Alabama suggested by Moore. After the advent of the Adams Administration, he introduced a resolution to hasten action and was later instrumental in securing aid for extensive improvements at Muscle Shoals.<sup>11</sup>

After some hesitation, Moore threw his support to Andrew Jackson in the 1824 presidential campaign. John McKinley wrote Henry Clay in September, 1823, that Moore had first declared himself for John C. Calhoun, then John Quincy Adams; but, finding "neither suited for his constituents," he had joined the Jackson ranks. Whether Moore shifted to Jackson because of conviction or expediency cannot be established. In either case, Jackson was the distinct favorite of North Alabama and was supported by the majority of Alabamians. Writing from Washington in January, 1825, before the House of Representatives had determined who was to be President, Moore reported that Clay's friends had apparently decided to support Adams. This move had been strange and unexpected and had caused

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<sup>10</sup>*Annals of Congress*, Eighteenth Congress, First Session, 1580-1585.

<sup>11</sup>*Huntsville Democrat*, July 13, 1824; February 15, 1825; January 13, 17, 1826.



excitement. Despite the decision of Clay's followers, however, he felt that the election of Adams was not assured. Since Crawford's supporters would not give up, there was still a possibility that neither candidate could obtain a majority and that Calhoun, the Vice President, would have to serve. If Moore hoped for either the selection of Jackson or Calhoun, he was disappointed in both, for Adams was elected.<sup>12</sup>

Except for the selection of a President, little of importance took place in the House during the last session of Moore's second term. He wrote that no major acts had been passed and that none were likely to be passed. Since there was evidence that Spanish authorities had encouraged acts of violence on American commerce and American citizens, he favored an act for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies.<sup>13</sup>

In 1825 Moore faced formidable opposition for his post from Clement Comer Clay, a former Chief Justice of Alabama and a distinguished lawyer from Huntsville. Although the tariff and public lands were issues, the contest was decided mainly on the basis of local issues and personalities. Already popular with the people, Moore presented himself as a candidate of the common man. Denying any connection with the Royal Party or Bank of Huntsville, he concluded his speeches, wrote one Clay supporter by saying, "I am supported principally by the poor. No friend saving one or two of the rich have I." Using this approach, the correspondent warned Clay, Moore had wrought a great change in the minds of many, especially since he had "frequented evry [*sic*] grog shop and visited every old woman." Although Moore had neither wealth nor talent on his side, he would carry the election at Florence if Clay did not make a strong effort. To insure the support of Jackson followers, Moore hedged on the tariff question even though he had opposed the Tariff of 1824. As predicted by Clay followers, Moore was

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<sup>12</sup>John McKinley to Henry Clay, September 29, 1823, Clay Papers, Library of Congress; Huntsville *Democrat*, February 15, 1825.

<sup>13</sup>Huntsville *Democrat*, February 15, 1825.

successful in attracting a sufficient number of votes to defeat Clay.<sup>14</sup>

Back in Congress, Moore continued to seek benefits for holders of relinquished lands. He wrote in December, 1825, that he hoped relief legislation would be passed and, about the same time, introduced a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information needed in order to take steps to guard the public interest from "fraudulent practices and combinations of individuals in the sale of relinquished lands" and to ascertain whether the public interest would not be best served if former owners or their representatives were given the right to repurchase relinquished land "at a certain proportion of the price for which it was originally sold." Defending the resolution, he pointed out that fraud was being practiced by combinations to the detriment of both the people and the government. Although the provisions were not entirely satisfactory to Moore, a relief bill was passed later in the session extending discounts to former owners and remitting interest payments.<sup>15</sup>

In the following session of Congress, Moore introduced a resolution calling on the Committee on Public Lands to determine the expediency of allowing settlers on relinquished lands to live on the lands until sold and to remove crops growing at the time of sale. He later joined other members of the Alabama delegation in requesting the Committee on Public Lands to give favorable consideration to a relief bill for such settlers. They pointed out that the price of cotton was low, debts were great, and speculators had settlers at their mercy.<sup>16</sup>

Near the close of the 1828 session, Moore made an impassioned speech in favor of a bill to permit relinquishers to purchase land at private sale at a fixed price. The plan would give protection to the "honest and *bona fide* settler and planter,

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<sup>14</sup>W. F. Withers to Clay, May 10, 1825; A. W. H. Clifton to Clay, May 7, 1825, Clay Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; Huntsville *Democrat*, June 21, August 12, 1825.

<sup>15</sup>Huntsville *Democrat*, January 6, April 21, May 26, 1826; *Register of Debates*, Nineteenth Congress, First Session, 1554.

<sup>16</sup>Huntsville *Democrat*, January 27, June 8, 1827.



against the iron grasp of the capitalist and land speculator." It would give the real settler an opportunity to acquire land he had to give up after paying one-fourth of the purchase price and and making improvements and, at the same time, would protect the public from frauds being practiced currently. Lands had originally been purchased when cotton was selling at from twenty-five to thirty cents; when the currency was inundated with depreciated paper receivable in land offices; when every species of property "had acquired a fictitious value, unparalleled and unknown in any other period. . . ." Lands had been sold on a credit basis under the two dollar minimum, but the minimum had subsequently been reduced to a dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, glutting the market with cheaper government land after Alabamians had had the maximum evils of the earlier act inflicted on them.

In terms of the existing value of land, Moore felt that purchasers had probably paid for their land in paying one-fourth of the 1819 price. In occupying the land and defending it, the owners had "suffered much and contributed much." They had opened roads for later immigrants and speculators. Some had "encountered the savage tomahawk and scalping-knife." Prices fixed in the bill were sufficiently high, considering that cotton was selling for only six and one-half cents per pound and that there was "universal pecuniary embarrassment" in the region. Plantations well stocked with servants remained in debt from year to year. Ever since the land sales, "every cent of the circulating medium" had been drawn out of Alabama to pay the "immense debt for public lands." The national government, he said, was "drawing the last pittance" from its debtors.

Without relief, many valuable citizens would leave the country. They would emigrate to Mexico or other quarters, as some already had, where a freehold estate could be easily obtained. These people were willing to pay a fair price for vacant and waste land and to help fortify and defend the frontier. The best interest of the government was not speculating upon its citizens and oppressing them but the adoption of a liberal policy. Moore declared: "But surely it is the true policy of the government to grant the means to as many as possible of acquiring real

estate, whereby they are the better enabled to raise their families, their attachment for the government increased, and their disposition to defend it." Despite Moore's eloquent defense of the proposal, it was not adopted; however, some relief was given to relinquishers.<sup>17</sup>

In 1827 Moore introduced a resolution calling for authorization of a survey of Muscle Shoals to determine the expediency of building a canal around the shoals. He had supported the General Survey Bill in 1824 and had asked immediately that such a survey be made. At that time John C. Calhoun, then the Secretary of War, had given assurance that the project was of first importance. The subject had been urged on the new Secretary of War, but little had been done. Alabama, he pointed out, was a younger state with limited resources. He hoped aid would not be denied for improvement of the Tennessee. The project would benefit Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Mississippi, Louisiana, and western Virginia. It would be "purely national" in its character in terms of the Act of 1824. At least fifty thousand bales of cotton were being shipped down the Tennessee at a cost of up to fifty cents for special handling at the shoals. In addition, there were attendant risks of damage or total loss. During the following session of Congress, Moore took a lead in securing passage of a bill granting over four hundred thousand acres of land to Alabama to be used for improving navigation on the Tennessee River. At a meeting honoring those who had secured the grant, Moore drank the toast: "The citizens of Alabama — may they speedily realize and enjoy the benefits and advantages tendered them by the liberality of the General Government for the encouragement of Education and the Internal improvement of our country." Later, as Governor of Alabama, Moore worked for the implementation of the project. One of his last services in the House of Representatives was the introduction of a resolution calling on the Committee on Public Lands to consider the feasibility of granting Alabama 97,129 acres for the improvement of the Black

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<sup>17</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twentieth Congress, First Session, 2762-2765; *Huntsville Democrat*, January 4, 1828.



Warrior, the Cahawba, the Coosa, and the Tennessee rivers.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1828 session Moore opposed high duties as he had done in 1824 and later in 1827. Objecting especially to the duty on cotton bagging, he pointed out that the price of bagging had increased approximately fifty per cent as a result of rates established in 1824. It was "unjust and oppressive" for one section to be taxed for the benefit of "that section which manufactures it, in lieu of permitting the citizens to purchase the foreign article." In answer to those who stressed that cotton was consumed in other states, Moore declared that this amount was "utterly inconsiderable" in terms of the total amount produced. Not one-fourth of the cotton produced in the United States found a market within it. The South, he suggested, might resort to the manufacture of bagging itself, from cotton instead of hemp. "We, too," he threatened, "can raise our own horses, mules, beef, pork, and flour, instead of paying some millions for these productions, and in this manner become independent of the [West]." As in 1824, southerners were unable to prevent passage of a high tariff law.<sup>19</sup>

In the 1828 presidential campaign, Moore again supported Andrew Jackson. Several months before the election, he wrote approvingly of victories of the "Jackson party" over the administration in the election of the speaker, the selection of Duff Green as printer, and gains made in New York politics. He later pointed out that he had supported Jackson both when he was in power and out of power.<sup>20</sup>

On February 7, 1829, Moore wrote a public letter to his constituents reporting the status of legislation and announcing that he would be a candidate for governor in 1829 instead of for his congressional seat. He hoped that further relief would be given to land purchasers, that Alabama would be granted 97,129 acres of land for internal improvements, and

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<sup>18</sup>*Register of Debates*, Nineteenth Congress, Second Session, 1252-1253; *Huntsville Democrat*, June 13, September 13, 1828; *Huntsville Southern Advocate*, January 2, 1829.

<sup>19</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twentieth Congress, First Session, pp. 2207-2208.

<sup>20</sup>*Huntsville Democrat*, January 4, 1828; April 12, 1832.

that Alabama would be authorized to exchange its sixteenth section lands for more valuable ones. A proposed bill calling for the graduation and cession of public lands, however, would probably not pass because some in the East feared that the poor would migrate to the public lands, thus depriving eastern factories of labor. As Moore took his leave of Congress, many no doubt joined the Huntsville *Democrat* in saying that he deserved "the lasting gratitude of a liberal and enlightened public" for his services.<sup>21</sup>

Unopposed for the governorship, Moore assumed his duties as governor in late 1829. In his inaugural message, he expressed his appreciation for the manner in which he had been elected. It inspired in him the "most profound gratitude, and the highest sense of obligation." Recalling his own experience in state government and the remarkable progress Alabama had made in the ten years since it had acquired statehood, Moore asked that the legislature follow a policy of "harmony, liberality, forbearance and toleration," all of which were necessary for the accomplishment of best results.<sup>22</sup>

In a special message to the legislature, Moore called for prompt action concerning the proposed improvement at Muscle Shoals. No time should be lost in adopting measures to permit completion of the project. Within ten years, Alabama would gain by an amount equal to the total cost of the improvement. With the removal of obstruction below Florence so that steamboats could ascend the river to that point, an emporium for trade would be created. No longer would merchants be forced to carry dry goods and groceries by way of Nashville at heavy cost to the consumer. Income from the sale of lands would probably be sufficient to provide navigation above Florence for boats of "light burthen" during part of the year and for flatboats and keelboats all year. Cotton would be enhanced in value by an amount equal to the cost of special handling being charged at Muscle Shoals, probably from one-half to one cent per pound. Other traffic, upriver and downriver, would profit in a similar

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<sup>21</sup>Huntsville *Democrat*, March 6, 1829.

<sup>22</sup>Huntsville *Democrat*, December 4, 1829.



manner. In implementing the project, moreover, funds would be paid to citizens which would help give "relief to pecuniary distress" in the state. Unfortunately, income from the sale of land would not be as great as once anticipated, for cotton was selling at the "lowest possible price" threatening many Alabamians with ruin.

Moore also called on the legislature to adopt measures to "effect the junction of the Alabama and Tennessee waters." Such a step, he said, would increase the income of farmers, enhance the value of real estate, and expand the commerce of Mobile. Thus, the entire population of the state would benefit.

Finally, Moore reminded members of the legislature of problems relating to public lands. Because of the operation of older land laws, he said the mass of Alabama's population had been placed in a distressing condition; because so much land had had to be relinquished, a large number of people had no "permanent home or even interest in the country." Unable to secure land on reasonable terms, many were emigrating to a foreign land, carrying away "population, industry and enterprise." Only the best lands were worth the current minimum. Without change in the land laws, therefore, the cheaper lands must remain unoccupied and uncultivated. He favored the sale of land in forty-acre tracts and the adoption of a system of graduation which would permit the price of land to correspond with its value. Adoption of these policies would permit every type of person to have access to land of some kind. The legislature, he suggested, should place the problems of Alabama before Congress, along with causes and possible solutions.<sup>23</sup>

As governor, Moore had a multiplicity of duties: promotion of internal improvements, supervision of the State Bank, promotion of education, promotion of reform in the penal code, general administrative routine. In 1830, for example, he corresponded with neighboring governors seeking information about projected internal improvements, and the possibility of co-operation with the State of Alabama. Along with the direc-

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<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

tors of the State Bank, he carried on a lengthy negotiation leading to sale of bank stock to a northern firm. In order to provide a basis for penal reform, Moore wrote several governors requesting information concerning penitentiaries and penal codes in other states. There was a need, he said, for adapting penal codes "to the moral character of the people" on whom they operated. Experience indicated a need for modifications to render them "less rigid in their texture, less sanguinary in their consequences, and more proportionate to the degree of turpitude involved in the offense or crime."<sup>24</sup>

In his 1830 message to the legislature, Moore made a series of recommendations. Among these was the adoption of measures for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. Since "legitimate authority" stemmed from the people, all should tremble at the thought of a union of "ignorance and civil liberty." The general government had provided support for education, and the state must act. He was happy to see "the rapid advancement of seminaries for sound and enlarged education" suited for every capacity and looked forward to the early opening of the University of Alabama. A committee of the Board of Trustees had recommended that a certain number of youths from each county be educated free of charge if their circumstances would otherwise exclude them "from the light of knowledge, and circumscribe their usefulness" in the community. With the adoption of such a plan, said Moore, the University would indeed become a state university. Intellectual resources would be called into "active usefulness" that otherwise would be neglected, and the poor would be given an opportunity to share in government.

Moore suggested that the object of punishment of crime might best be served by the establishment of a penitentiary system. Both the national and the state constitutions stressed the fairness of punishment; nevertheless, the existing system in Alabama provided for death for both forgery and murder.

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<sup>24</sup>Moore to G. C. Brandon, August 10, 1830; Moore to various governors, August, 1830; Moore to Bank Directors, April 24, 1830, Gabriel Moore, Executive Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.



The result was "frequent impunity" for obviously guilty persons when lesser crimes were involved because the atrocity of the system evoked sympathy for the offender. Nor did the harshness of punishment deter crime. A more adequate system of punishment could be provided in a penitentiary, and reformation would result in some cases. He presented information from other states concerning construction and government of penitentiaries, desirable modifications of criminal law, and the effects of penitentiaries on public revenue, crime, and morals.

Moore lauded the State Bank for its assistance in commercial transactions and its production of revenue. He recommended that a branch be established in the southern part of the state and another in the Tennessee Valley. People in some parts of the state, he said, were destitute of bank accommodations. Remoteness of these citizens made it difficult for them to obtain credit. Sometimes unwillingly, they had had to borrow from other banks, thus helping "fortify the power" of rivals of the State Bank and producing profits that were sometimes paid to foreign stockholders. The State Bank, he reported, had been able to obtain \$100,000 on favorable terms for purposes of capital expansion. Much of the success of the institution, said Moore, depended on the bank directors who had formerly served without pay. He recommended that they be paid a nominal amount for the time they spent carrying on the business of the Bank.

With obvious pleasure, Moore reported that the Muscle Shoals Canal project was about to begin. Contracts had already been let for work below Florence on terms more favorable than had once been expected. There was reason to hope that this project would be completed within two years and that a like project could be planned above Florence. Moore recommended that the legislature give attention to a project connecting the Alabama and the Tennessee. Such a project would be of national importance and eligible for aid from the general government.

Perhaps with an eye on a seat in the Senate of the United States (he was already an active, although not a fully avowed,

candidate for the post), Moore stated his views on national issues. He recommended that the legislature instruct the state's representatives in Congress to oppose the renewal of the existing charter of the Bank of the United States and, if the charter were renewed, to seek restrictions that would "prevent the establishment of branches in any State without the consent of such State." This mammoth institution, enriched by revenues of the United States government, had extended its influence over the entire country and was using its power to cripple state institutions in a manner hostile to state sovereignty. It was, he asserted, a "tremendous machine" which took in a "vast portion of the products of the laboring classes devouring the substance of the *poor* to pamper overgrown wealth"; it took an indirect tax from industry and put it into the pockets of nonproductive capitalists.

Although conceding that the tariff was oppressive, partial and unjust in operation, and that its nullification should be sought by every legal means, Moore doubted the propriety of Alabama's adopting measures calculated to add to the prevailing excitement existing on the subject. Rather, the crisis called for a "temperate, though firm and decisive, appeal to the justice and magnanimity of the general government" for relaxation of the "odious and impolitic system." It would be proper for the legislature to assist in the alleviation of suffering caused by the "ungenerous and unkind policy" by recommending the development of domestic industry. With a good climate and good soil, Alabama could produce almost any raw material, including sugar, grapes, silk, and wool. Cotton growers, he suggested, would benefit from such diversification, for there was already too much competition in cotton production.

Moore expressed regret that relief laws for settlers on relinquished lands had not been more generous and that graduation had not been adopted. He recommended that the legislature make an appeal to Congress for the adoption of graduation. The general government, he hoped, would recognize that the "solid wealth and strength" of the nation consisted "in the prosperity, happiness and independence of a brave, high-minded

and patriotic yeomanry" more than in acres in the public domain or dollars in the public coffers.<sup>25</sup>

At the time he delivered his final message to the Alabama legislature, Moore was already engaged in an effort to unseat John McKinley and win a post in the United States Senate. This contest, described elsewhere, was perhaps the most significant action taken by the 1830 legislative session. Following his election as senator, Moore resigned the governorship in March, 1831, and turned his duties over to Samuel B. Moore.<sup>26</sup>

With his election to the Senate, Moore attained the last high office that could be given by the people of Alabama. In his rise to a senate seat, he had never lost a race. Moore had served the people well, both in the territorial period and after statehood had been acquired. In the territorial and state legislatures and in the constitutional convention of 1819, he had been an active and an able member. In Congress he had supported favorable land legislation and needed internal improvements of national importance and had opposed the tariff. As governor, he had continued programs already begun and initiated others, such as the investigations that later led to the establishment of a penitentiary system in Alabama. Although his personal life had sometimes been criticized, he was a decided favorite, with good reason, of the common people of Alabama.

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<sup>25</sup>Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, November 27, 1830.

<sup>26</sup>John M. Martin, "The Senatorial Career of Gabriel Moore," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (Summer, 1964), 249ff.





MARTIAL MONTGOMERY:  
ANTE BELLUM MILITARY ACTIVITY

by

Lt. Col. John H. Napier, III

Commentators on the Southern scene have long noted the existence of a "martial tradition,"<sup>1</sup> or what Stephen Vincent Benet termed "the broadsword virtues." That such a tradition is based on fact can be seen in the enthusiasm of the South for the 1812 and Mexican Wars, and in the eagerness to come to grips with the North in the Civil War. Perhaps today this can be noted in a prevalence of Southern home towns mentioned in dispatches from Vietnam of U.S. fighting men serving there. Analysts have attributed such militancy to everything from a supposed "cavalier heritage" through the climate to "pure cussedness" and a streak of violence. Let the dissectors of the Southern psyche concern themselves with the whys.

One prominent historian, John Hope Franklin, has explored the various manifestations of Southern military ardor before the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> Some of these include the South's frontier heritage, the need felt to defend "the peculiar institution," personal violence, a "militant gentry," geographical expansionism, literary romanticism, state and private military schools and the "citizen soldiery" of voluntary military companies in the decades before secession and Fort Sumter. Montgomery, Alabama, is a typical example of an antebellum Southern town in which such voluntary military corps played a social and military role. As Franklin wrote:

In the south the voluntary military organization found a congenial atmosphere in which to flourish.

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<sup>1</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, quoted in John Temple Graves, *The Fighting South* (New York, 1943), 8. Also Virginius Dabney, Mark Ethridge, Clark Howell and others, 8-10, upon being queried by the author at the South's readiness to fight before December 7, 1941.

<sup>2</sup>John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

The volunteer company made it possible for neighbors and friends to comply with the requirements of the federal and state militia laws. . . . It was a welcome opportunity, moreover, for the volunteers and many others to brighten their lives by periodic gatherings, ostensibly for the purpose of learning the techniques of organized warfare, which, for many, constituted their major social activity.<sup>3</sup>

In order to understand the appeal of such military activity in ante-bellum Montgomery, one must note the original *raison d'être* for a citizen soldiery in the Alabama of the "old Southwest," and the legal structure developed to control it. Before the war of 1812, in both the Old Southwest and the Old Northwest, west of the Appalachian Mountains and south and north of the Ohio River respectively, frontier threats from the Indians, the British, and the Spanish made American citizens combat-ready. Each community had its militia company which drilled regularly, headed by "at least three titled dignitaries . . . resplendent in their brightly colored sashes and gaily plumed hats."

Once the War of 1812 had removed the British and Indian threat north of the Ohio River, such forces in the Old Northwest lost their reason for existence.

The lack of an excuse, however, was insufficient reason for disbanding militia companies. They now were social organizations to which young blades belonged principally for the purpose of marching pompously before wide-eyed feminine admirers. It was a sorry town indeed that couldn't raise a muster and most of the mboasted two companies.<sup>4</sup>

However, in the Old Southwest military threats were felt for nearly thirty more years. True, the Creeks' power had been broken in 1813-14, but Spain retained nearby Florida until

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<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas D. Clark, *The Rampaging Frontier* (Indianapolis, 1939), 183, 184.



1819, the Creek Nation in Alabama was not extinguished until 1836, and fugitive Indians in Florida dragged the Seminole War out to 1842. In addition to these border threats was the growing concern with controlling slaves and preventing feared insurrections. Finally, Southern expansionism was involved officially and otherwise in such military ventures as the Texas War for Independence, the Oregon controversy with Great Britain, the Mexican War, the filibustering mania into the Caribbean, and that melancholy curtain-raiser to secession, the ugly civil war in "Bleeding Kansas."

The legal basis for a citizen soldiery had its roots in the founding fathers' distrust for a standing army, expressed in the Militia Act of 1792. This, based in English law and practice dating back to the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, placed the Nation's hope and onus for defense upon a citizenry in arms at the time when the Regular Army was restricted to the equivalent of one regiment. In Alabama the legal foundation lay in the parent Mississippi Territory "Militia Law" of 1807, which subjected each free white male between 16 and 50 years of age, with some exceptions, to military duty, required him to equip himself with the necessary arms and accoutrements, provided for a territorially-based military structure, and provided for frequent musters. Initially each company had to report for drill quarterly, and each battalion and regiment once each annually. The organization also provided for local patrols to regulate and discipline "unruly and roving slaves and other disorderly persons."<sup>5</sup>

After Alabama was separated from Mississippi in 1817 and achieved statehood in 1819, its laws of 1821 provided that a volunteer company of light infantrymen or riflemen might be raised in each militia regiment with the privilege of choosing its own uniform.<sup>6</sup> In 1837 a newly adopted "system of Militia Laws" distinguished between the two classes of citizen

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<sup>5</sup>Thomas M. Owen, *A History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), II, 987. Cited hereafter as Owen, *Alabama and Dictionary*.

<sup>6</sup>Harry Toulmin, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama* (Cahawba, Alabama, 1823), 619.

soldiery of militia and volunteers. They differed mainly in their original organization and equipment, the volunteers procuring the latter largely at their own expense, although they received arms, and sometimes camp equipment. They were also incorporated by the legislature.<sup>7</sup> The volunteer corps were required to perform more military duty than was the militia. Six to twelve drills per year were usually prescribed in acts of incorporation at a time when militia company musters had been reduced to two annually.<sup>8</sup> In return, members of volunteer corps were generally exempt from road work, jury, or patrol duty.<sup>9</sup> Such privileges were reflected as late as the twentieth century, when the Alabama National Guard was still exempt from poll tax or jury duty.<sup>10</sup> Even today they are entitled to distinctive automobile tags.

Montgomery was founded in 1817 by several groups of real estate speculators. Seven years later, as a frontier village, it received its first social cachet of note with the visit of the Marquis de LaFayette. The regions to the east, between Line Creek and the Chattahoochee River were still the Creek Nation. Governor Israel Pickens directed militia Brigadier General Thomas S. Woodward "to take an escort and conduct LaFayette through the nation. The Hon. James Abercrombie then commanded the Montgomery Troop, and General Moore of Claiborne, commanded the Monroe Troop, both of whom volunteered their services."<sup>11</sup> Several hundred persons, including the Mayor of Montgomery, trekked to the Chattahoochee, where the Georgia escort handed over the aged hero to fifty naked and painted Indian warriors. These pulled the aged hero's sulky across the river to the waiting Alabamians. Escorted by the

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<sup>7</sup>Alexander B. Meek, *A Supplement to Aiken's Digest* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1841), 140-45.

<sup>8</sup>State of Alabama, *Acts of Alabama*, 1843 (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1844), 32, and *Acts of Alabama*, 1849-50 (Montgomery, Alabama, 1850), 367. Cited hereafter as *Acts of Alabama*.

<sup>9</sup>*Acts of Alabama*, 1846, 120-21, and *Acts of Alabama*, 1859-60, 371-72, incorporating Montgomery Riflemen and Montgomery Mounted Rifles.

<sup>10</sup>Owen, *Alabama and Dictionary*, II, 989.

<sup>11</sup>Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians* (Montgomery, Alabama, 1859), 66.

Montgomery Troop, LaFayette reached Montgomery, where he was fittingly received and feted.

Thus, Montgomery's citizen soldiery began their participation in the town's social life. The unit was the Montgomery Light Infantry, founded in that year—1824—and John Goldthwaite, the first captain, was a War of 1812 veteran. On May 1, 1827, Major General Jacob Brown, hero of that conflict, en route West for an inspection tour, was received in Montgomery by Captain (and Dr.) Hugh W. Henry's cavalry troop of Montgomery Huzzars as escort, and by Andrew Dexter, Intendant, who welcomed him to Montgomery. The next day Brown was escorted to the steamboat *Coosa* by the Montgomery Light Infantry, whose Captain Goldthwaite had served under Brown on the Niagara River in the 1812 War.<sup>12</sup>

The next military event to excite Montgomery was the Texas War of Independence. Many Alabamians were numbered among the Texas colonists, and their struggle against Mexico was followed animatedly in the South, and with measures for armed assistance. On November 30, 1835, a meeting was held in the Montgomery Theater to express sympathy and to aid the Texans. General John Scott, one of Montgomery's founders, presided at the meeting, and Colonel James E. Belser, editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*, was secretary. Lieutenant Colonel William Ward's volunteers from Macon, Georgia, were present, and Isaac Ticknor commanded a company of 16 Montgomery volunteers.<sup>13</sup> They went on to Texas as part of Colonel J. W. Fannin's volunteer regiment, which was surrounded by General Urrea at the battle of Coleta River. By order of General Santa Anna, they were among 365 American prisoners of war shot in cold blood at the Palm Sunday 1836 massacre at Goliad.<sup>14</sup> However, a chronicler reported that Ticknor's company, being composed of troublesome elements, was not much missed in Montgomery.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>M. P. Blue, *History of Montgomery* (Montgomery, Alabama, 1878), 19, 58-59. Cited hereafter as Blue, *Montgomery*.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 25-26, 85.

<sup>14</sup>Col. James E. Saunders, *Early Settlers of Alabama* (New Orleans, 1899), 209-10.

<sup>15</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 25-26.



At the same time a company was formed in Montgomery which was to enjoy the longest history of any local military unit, and to become an integral part of the social scene. In response to President Martin Van Buren's call for three month volunteers for the Seminole War in Florida, the Montgomery True Blues were formed by February 20, 1836, and their services tendered to Governor Clement C. Clay on that date.

In later years, the True Blues came to believe that they had been organized on Washington's Birthday and they thus were of the same age as the Mobile Rifles. The two companies were one of the same age as the Mobile Rifles. The two companies were the oldest continuous military units in the state. However, Dr. Peter A. Brannon has shown that the True Blues were founded at least two days earlier. Nonetheless, for years they celebrated Washington's Birthday as their Organization Day. There were 76 members, later 94, and they elected as Officers: Captain William Chisholm; First Lieutenant Richard T. Nott; Second Lieutenant William H. Pollard; Third Lieutenant John R. McLeod; and Ensign Thomas J. Cook.

At the same time, probably on February 22, another company was formed in Montgomery county, the Montgomery Invincibles. Their officers were: Captain John W. Bonham, First Lieutenant Richard G. Walker, and Ensign Peter B. Parker.<sup>16</sup> The two units developed a town and country rivalry, as will be seen. Both units quickly embarked on a steamboat on February 25 for Mobile. There Chisholm, a captain in the War of 1812, was elected colonel of the regiment of Alabama Volunteers, and was succeeded in command of the Blues by Nott.<sup>17</sup>

At Mobile the volunteers camped at the then Orange Grove, received the freedom of the city and True Blue veteran Capt. John Clisby recalled that on "the third day we were invited to a fine mansion on Government St. an elegant colation (sic) spread and Judge Henry Goldthwaite addressed us and a banner

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<sup>16</sup>Peter A. Brannon, "The Montgomery True Blues", *Montgomery Advertiser*, Feb. 23, 1936.

<sup>17</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 27; Wetumpka *Daily State Guard*, September 5, 1848 (obituary of Colonel Chisholm).

(was) presented by the ladies of Mobile.”<sup>18</sup> The regiment sailed for Tampa Bay and camped in an oak grove near a log fort garrisoned by 200 U.S. Army regulars under a one-armed Major Sands. An altercation between the regulars and volunteers broke out after Sands struck one of a True Blue fatigue detail with his cane. The enraged company formed to storm the fort, the embattled major retreated inside, and ran double shotted cannon out of the port holes. Captain Nott tried to quiet his men, and a Colonel Lindsay arrived to quell the fracas. He was quoted as saying later “if he had such soldiers as the Alabama boys he could whip the devil out of Hell!”<sup>19</sup>

However, Bonham’s Montgomery Invincibles, “a fine body of men . . . boasted they would soon show us what men were and in derision called us the silk stocking company but the campaign proved the Blues the best grit, for we marched more men all the time than any other company.”

Clisby recalled that:

Our reputation was so general that General (Winfield) Scott on arriving at a fort we built on Hillsboro river inquired of the Post adjutant if any Blues were there. There was a sick mess of six of us inside he says take me to them I am anxious to see them. I had a dozen fine Maderia Wine, and brought it out, he tasted and said it was as good as he ever drank he left us with at least a bottle in him.<sup>20</sup>

The Alabama regiment was engaged on April 27, 1836 at

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<sup>18</sup>John Clisby to “Dear Friend,” Verbena, Ala., July 2, 1884. Alabama Military Records, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Cited hereafter as Clisby Letter. Clisby, an original True Blue, wrote his reminiscences of the Seminole War to an officer of the Montgomery True Blues seeking historical data on the unit.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.* The two regular officers were probably Col. William Lindsay of Virginia, 2nd Artillery, and Bvt. Maj. Richard Martin Sands of Maryland, 4th Infantry. This Sands died soon after on September 13, 1836. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1901), I, 634, 859.

<sup>20</sup>Clisby Letter.

the Battle of Thlonotosassa Creek, where Colonel Chisholm served gallantly, J. H. Evans of the Blues was killed, and James Sankey wounded.<sup>21</sup> This was probably the battle recounted by Clisby, who stated that the day after the Americans dismantled their fort and booby-trapped the magazine, they were attacked by a thousand warriors hidden in a hammock. A severe hour-and-a-half fight ended with the Americans charging the hammock, but they lost 15 killed and 45 wounded. Later, after returning to Montgomery, 6 more died of disease, including William Stewart of the Blues<sup>22</sup>

Their enlistment expired, the Blues and the Invincibles reached Montgomery by steamboat on May 15. Although it was Sunday, citizens turned out en masse and "welcomed them at the wharf with salutes."<sup>23</sup> Later, on July 12 Montgomerians gave the Blues a public dinner in appreciation of their services. On the following Independence Day, 1837, Montgomery ladies presented the company with a beautiful flag.<sup>24</sup> This flag was carried later in the Mexican and Civil Wars and was used for military funerals on the casket as late as 1924! Meanwhile, the True Blues had quickly reorganized on June 20, 1836, into an artillery company equipped with two brass six-pounders. As such it was incorporated by the Legislature December 3, 1836. On July 2 an election saw the following officers chosen: Captain, Richard T. Nott; First Lieutenant, Robert Harwell; Second Lieutenant, Dr. Ralph C. Armstrong; and Third Lieutenant, Robert A. Means.<sup>25</sup>

This same period saw another military threat, that of the Creek Indians on Alabama's eastern frontier, who resisted being moved West. There had been an *opera bouffe* confrontation earlier in 1833 between Alabama and Federal authorities in a

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<sup>21</sup>Wetumpka *Daily State Guard*, September 5, 1848; Blue, *Montgomery*, 27.

<sup>22</sup>Clisby Letter and Blue, *Montgomery*, 27.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 66-67; Bart W. Lincoln, comp., "Montgomery True Survivors' Association Scrapbook" (n.p., n.d.), Alabama Military Records. Cited hereafter as "Survivors' Scrapbook".

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 64-65, Clisby Letter and Bart W. Lincoln, Comp. "Montgomery True Blues Scrapbook" (n.p., n.d.), Alabama Military Records. Cited hereafter as "Blues Scrapbook."



dispute between President Andrew Jackson and Governor John Gayle over removal of the Creeks.<sup>26</sup> In 1836 Governor Clay selected the Montgomery Huzzars, or "Henry's Horse Company," as his bodyguard during hostilities with the Creeks, and on May 10, 1837, the Montgomery Guards were organized under Captain George Whitman.<sup>27</sup>

With the removal of the Creeks, the capture of Seminole chieftain Osceola, and Texas' Independence, the military need for such volunteer corps declined. Some of the companies undoubtedly disbanded, but the records do not show which or when. By 1842, in Neighboring Georgia, an English traveller noted that at a militia muster in Athens, townsmen and University of Georgia students vied with each other to make the battalion drill "as grotesque as the most ingenious caricaturist could make it," carrying canes, cornstalks and brooms rather than muskets, dressing as variously as possible, marching as much out of step as they could, to the discordant notes of clownish fifers and drummers. All this buffoonery contrasted with the commander dressed in full blue and silver field officer's uniform on a finely caparisoned steed.<sup>28</sup> Other commentators have noted the horse-play, drunkenness, and fighting at militia musters, the cross-roads stores, and barbecues in the ante-bellum South.<sup>29</sup> Militia drills had been exciting affairs, good musters drawing more people than a court day or log-rolling. Crowds included office-seeking candidates, exhorting preachers, quacks peddling their noxious nostrums, gamblers fleecing bumpkins, horse traders bickering. Ladies, both sullied and unsullied, came to witness the gallantries of the day." These might include, in addition to roll call, manual of arms, drill, reading the military law, fines for

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<sup>26</sup>See Col. Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, "The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," *Alabama Historical Sketches* (Charlottesville, Va., 1960).

<sup>27</sup>Blue, *Montgomery* 19, 27-28. However, a note in a folder in the Alabama Military Records states the Guards were formed in 1854.

<sup>28</sup>James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842), II, 69-70. Hereafter cited as Buckingham, *Slave States*.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas P. Abernathy, *The Formative Period In Alabama* (Montgomery, Ala., 1922), 132. Hereafter cited as Abernathy, *Formative Period*. See also A. B. Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes* (New York, 1840), 196-206.

delinquents and target competition, such sports as throwing the rail, kicking the hat, quarter races and gander pullings.

Contemporary travellers have also noted that the militia organization afforded an aspirant gentry the opportunity to garner titles in a democratic society. Travellers alighting at taverns in a crowd were surrounded by titles flying about — judge, general and colonel.<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Trollope noted on a steamboat bound from Montgomery to Mobile that the male cabin passengers, despite apparent uncouthness, must all have been gentlemen since they were all addressed as general, colonel and major. She inquired where the captains were and was informed that they were among the deck passengers, and she concluded that the military establishments that these worthies represented “were not of the same genus as those of the Tuileries and St. James’s . . . .”<sup>31</sup>

Obviously, such militia muddling and Potemkin pretensions could not have characterized Montgomery’s martial men, for on the 50th anniversary of the True Blues it was recalled that

from that time on (end of the Mexican War) to 1860 its victories were those of peace, the company being composed of the best young men in the capital city of Alabama, and having a long list of distinguished names upon its rolls. For a number of years it was the city’s only military company, and was the pride and pet of the capital in ante-bellum times.<sup>32</sup>

There was great esprit and the True Blues took “part in every celebrated anniversary of the time . . . .”<sup>33</sup>

There were the obviously martial shows such as the frequent drills and musters at the Armory. There were marksmanship contests such as the one in 1839 for the best musketry at 60

<sup>30</sup>Clark, *The Rampaging Frontier*, 183, 184.

<sup>31</sup>Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York, 1839), 14.

<sup>32</sup>*Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, March 13, 1886, 61-62.

<sup>33</sup>*Soldier’s Souvenir of Interstate Drill and Encampment* (Mobile, Ala., 1885), 28-29. Hereafter cited as *Souvenirs*.

yards, in which John Ross Rodgers won the first prize medal worth \$75, and William Hardwick the second worth \$50. On one occasion, in 1855, The Montgomery Rifles were encamped at Camp Thomas, where Captain Schley awarded marksmanship prizes. Private William Williamson received a silver cup for the best average shot. Private Sam Lewis was awarded a gold medal for the second highest average score. Corporal Cheatham won the silver medal for the best single shot. Mrs. C. A. Clapp's pyramid cake was given to Private M. L. Woods for second best single shot and another cake to Private D. Lewis for the third best single shot.<sup>34</sup> Washington's Birthday was celebrated fittingly each year with parades, speeches, banquets and balls. The Blues delighted in this holiday, since they supposed it to be their own anniversary. In their records is an invitation to an Anniversary Entertainment at Concert Hall on February 22, 1859, bearing the names of the floor committee of Blues, honorary members, and floor managers.<sup>35</sup> By 1860 honorary or emeritus membership had apparently become important enough that there was an organization of "Ancient and Honorable Blues," in addition to the active company. Doubtless, it was social and honorary in nature.<sup>36</sup>

In the old South, Independence Day was the great patriotic anniversary until the news of the disasters in 1863 at Gettysburg and Vicksburg made it a day of mourning.<sup>37</sup>

The fourth of July was celebrated with orations and picnics. It was particularly a season for the display of the military companies which every town of any pretension had. The Montgomery Blues and

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<sup>34</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 59, and *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 23, 1855.

<sup>35</sup>Montgomery True Blues, "Invitation to Entertainment," *Montgomery, Ala.*, Feb. 12, 1859.

<sup>36</sup>Benjamin M. Washburn in *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 30, 1908. The "Ancient and Honorables" later had their counterparts in the Montgomery True Blues Survivors' Association of Veterans and the Montgomery True Blues Reserve Corps of honorary members at the turn of the century.

<sup>37</sup>This author can remember that Vicksburg did not celebrate the Fourth until Gen. of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower visited there after World War II, in 1947.



Montgomery Rifles constantly brightened the social scene at the state capital.<sup>38</sup>

Festivities usually began at sunrise with the firing of a brass cannon. At eleven a.m. there was a parade with companies such as Captain Rhodes L. Smith's Montgomery Guards, Goldthwaite's Light Infantry or Henry's "elegant cavalry company," depending on which existed at the time. The streets were crowded with whites, blacks, and even a few Indians. At noon the cannon was fired again, the throng gathered at Courthouse Square, where there were prayers for the country, the Declaration of Independence was read, and a prominent person delivered an oration. At two p.m. the fortunate ones gathered for dinner at a local tavern after many toasts and patriotic songs. That night there would be a ball for the beauty and chivalry of Montgomery.<sup>39</sup>

The volunteers also assisted at more somber national memorials. On November 20, 1852, at Governor Henry W. Collier's request, the Montgomery True Blues fired half-minute guns in respect to the late Honorable Daniel Webster. Unfortunately, the rammer, Mr. Joseph Baker, lost his right arm in a premature explosion and died the next day. Peacetime soldiering had its hazards. Perhaps the pace of firing had been to blame, for the next year on May 5, 1853, the True Blues fired 13 minute guns in memory of the late Vice-President William Rufus King of Alabama.<sup>40</sup>

In 1906 one member of the Montgomery True Blues Survivor's Association, Benjamin M. Washburn, orderly sergeant from 1861-65, remembered his excitement as a boy over the Blues' shown uniforms and street parades. He could hardly wait to grow old enough to join, which he did in 1856. The company had a yearly encampment at old Augusta on the Western Rail-

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<sup>38</sup>Minnie Clare Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties* (New York, 1931), 218.

<sup>39</sup>Clanton W. Williams, "Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery," *Journal of Southern History*, III, (November, 1941) 50c.

<sup>40</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 83, 60.

road. He recalled the excursions and encampments at LaGrange, Macon, Columbus, Mobile and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

There was a surprising amount of visiting among military companies in the different towns. In February, 1840, the Blues accepted the invitation of the Wetumpka Borderers to their Washington Birth Night Ball, and to participate in the next day's festivities. The *Wetumpka Argus* reported its "admiration of the fine appearance and excellent discipline of the 'Blues'. Montgomery should be proud of the volunteer corps, officers and privates."<sup>42</sup> The ball at the American on the 21st went off pleasantly. The next morning the two military units paraded. Washington's Farewell Address was read after a "few" prefatory remarks, and a large audience assembled at the Baptist Church heard an oration. At one p.m. militia Major General Thornton Taliaferro, commanding the 6th Division, Alabama State Militia; Brigadier General Crawford M. Jackson, of the 15th Brigade; their staffs; Colonel Elmore; and the companies "repaired to the 'American' and partook of a collation prepared in Crane's best style."<sup>43</sup>

Later, the military was invited by the theatrical troupe then in the town "to attend the exhibitions of the evening, the acting was good, the singing sweet, and Herr Cline's performance on the elastic cord astonishing."<sup>44</sup>

On May 7, 1855, the Montgomery True Blues visited Columbus, Georgia, at the invitation of the Columbus Guards. There they were "captured" the next day by the City Light Guards, escaped from camp to the Perry House, where there was a "general repast." Then the combined battalion paraded, the City Light Guards under Lieutenant DeWitt and the Blues under Captain David Owen. They rested awhile at Mayor Wiley Williams' house, "where an interchange of social civilities took

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<sup>41</sup>1906 clipping in "Survivors' Scrapbook".

<sup>42</sup>*Wetumpka Argus*, Feb. 26, 1840.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*; Taliaferro's Certificate of Jackson's Election, Tuscaloosa Jan. 20, 1840. A sketch of Jackson is in William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama*, (Atlanta, 1872), 436-37. Colonel Elmore was probably Rush Elmore.

<sup>44</sup>*Wetumpka Argus*, February 26, 1840.

place, which were appropriate to the heat of the day, and the fatigue of the parade." Montgomery's Mayor Hansford was also present.

In return that evening the Blues entertained 1,000-1,200 Columbus citizens at their Camp Montgomery, "and a most delightful reunion it was." The Blues put on a brilliant display of fireworks and furnished bountiful refreshments. On the third day the Blues left by train for their encampment in Montgomery, escorted to the state line by their Columbus comrades-in-arms, who returned the visit at Camp Owen in Montgomery.<sup>45</sup>

There were other such visits. The Macon (Georgia) Volunteers visited the Blues in Montgomery in June, 1857, and the Blues returned the visit May 3, 1859, commanded then by Captain Tennent Lomax. They were received by the Macon Volunteers, Floyd Rifles, and Bibb County Cavalry, and escorted to Camp Oglethorpe where the "general encampment (was) held and the usual hospitality extended the visitors."<sup>46</sup>

At that time, military visitors to Montgomery, according to Frederick Law Olmsted, would have found it

... a prosperous town, with very pleasant suburbs and remarkably enterprising population, among which there is a considerably proportion of Northern and foreign born businessmen and mechanics . . . Several of the larger towns, like Montgomery, remarkable in the midst of the wilderness which surrounds them, for the neatness and tasteful character of the houses and gardens which they contain, are in a considerable degree, made up of the residences of gentlemen, who own large plantations in the hotter and less beautiful parts of the State. Many of these have been educated in the older States, and with minds enlarged and

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<sup>45</sup>*Montgomery Advertiser*, May 9, 1855, quoting *The Columbus Enquirer*.

<sup>46</sup>Clipping in "Blues Scrapbook".

liberalized by travel, they form, with their families, a cultivated and attractive society.<sup>47</sup>

Pleasant peacetime military pursuits were of course disturbed by calls to arms. Rush Elmore was captain of the Blues at the height of the Oregon controversy with Great Britain, and the company adopted a resolution offering its services to the President in the event of war over "Fifty-four-forty". He acknowledged the offer, and said if needed the Blues' services would be accepted. Instead, General Zachary Taylor's forces clashed with the Mexicans and war loomed in another quarter. Thereupon, Elmore, on May 5, 1846, volunteered the Blues for Mexican service. Governor Joshua L. Martin said he was the first to report as ready to take up arms.<sup>48</sup> Afterwards Elmore informed the company. The men disavowed the action as not authorized and refused to volunteer because no troops from Alabama had been called. Elmore resigned, raised another company, the Relief Volunteers, with First Lieutenant A. S. Cook, and Second Lieutenant Thomas Miller. This outfit with 93 men, was mustered into United States service at Mobile May 12, 1846, and went to New Orleans where it became part of Colonel Bailey Peyton's 6th Louisiana Infantry. Elmore got sick in Texas and returned home;<sup>49</sup> the Volunteers were mustered out on August 18, 1846 at New Orleans.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile at New Orleans, Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, commanding the Military District of the West, harking to Taylor's appeal for troops on the Rio Grande, called upon several Southern governors for military forces. Governor

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<sup>47</sup>Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1859), 549, 575.

<sup>48</sup>Governor Martin to E. Y. Fair, May 28, 1846, quoted in Henry J. Whitfield, Jr., "Alabama and the Mexican War" (unpublished Master's thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, History Department, 1940), 40. Hereafter cited as Whitfield, "Mexican War."

<sup>49</sup>Relief Volunteers Muster Roll, Mobile, Ala., May 23, 1846, in Alabama Military Records, and "Elmore Family Records," copied in "Blues Scrapbook" by Bart W. Lincoln. Also see Peter A. Brannon, "Captain Rush Elmore's Company," *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 5, 1936.

<sup>50</sup>Owen, *Alabama and Dictionary*, II, 986.



Martin issued a call for the organization of volunteer companies.<sup>51</sup> Previously, the Alabama Legislature had authorized the Montgomery True Blues and Montgomery Riflemen to unite into a composite battalion of infantry and artillery, independent of the militia organization and subject only to the governor's orders.<sup>52</sup> The Blues, now commanded by Captain James L. Mumford, volunteered for the Mexican War and were mustered into service at Mobile by May 23, 1846.<sup>53</sup> Then it developed that Gaines had exceeded his authority, and the War Department ordered Colonel Jones M. Withers' Alabama regiment, including the Blues, disbanded.<sup>54</sup> Some Montgomerians returned home, while others, including Captain Mumford, found their way into other commands and to the scene of action. Mumford went to Mexico, where he died of yellow fever in Tampico in September 1847.<sup>55</sup> In 1848 he was reinterred at Montgomery, where the Blues furnished the military escort and honors.<sup>56</sup>

Another Montgomery company, raised by Captain John J. Seibels, was placed in Lieutenant Colonel Philip H. Raiford's Alabama battalion at Mobile, reached Point Isabel, Texas, where it was ordered back to Mobile and mustered out August 18.<sup>57</sup> However, Seibels, who had been in Texas from 1838 - 40, in 1847 took another battalion to Mexico, where he was military governor of Orizaba.<sup>58</sup> Under the impetus of war, other Montgomery units were formed — the Mount Meigs Cavalry on June 19, 1846, and the Montgomery Dragoons on April 30, 1847.<sup>59</sup> The latter were incorporated by the Legislature with the usual organizational provisos and exemptions.<sup>60</sup> After the war had ended victoriously,

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<sup>51</sup>Tuscaloosa *State Journal and Flag*, May 15, 1846.

<sup>52</sup>*Acts of Alabama*, 1846, 120-21.

<sup>53</sup>Montgomery True Blues Muster Roll, Mobile, Ala., May 23, 1846, in Alabama Military Records.

<sup>54</sup>Whitfield, "Mexican War," 20.

<sup>55</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 31.

<sup>56</sup>"Blues Scrapbook."

<sup>57</sup>Whitfield, "Mexican War," 20; Willis Brewer, *Alabama*, (Montgomery, Ala., 1872), 588.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>59</sup>Notes in folder. "Alabama State Militia, Montgomery County," Alabama Military Records.

<sup>60</sup>*Acts of Alabama*, 1848, 284.

Generals Quitman and Shields on their way to Washington, D. C., were welcomed at a reception at Montgomery Hall on December 17, 1847, where William L. Yancey addressed the crowd. It may be assumed that the True Blues and other companies participated in the festivities.<sup>61</sup>

The decade of the Fifties brought increasing tension between North and South, and with it martial preparations in Dixie. In 1849 a new company was formed in Montgomery County, the Rough and Ready Invincibles, Captain H. H. Norman, commanding. The incorporating act was not passed until 1852, and required them to have between 40 and 80 members, to choose the legal number of officers and NCO's "to adopt some proper uniform to be by them selected," to drill or parade six times a year, and to be liable to the governor for service as Minute Men. Two more Montgomery companies, the Alabama Dragoons, and Montgomery Rifle Company, or Riflemen, were incorporated in 1854.<sup>62</sup>

In 1856 the issue of whether Kansas would become free or slave territory greatly excited the feelings of Montgomerians. Massachusetts Free Soilers chartered a company to secure control of Kansas, and Southern State Rights leaders appealed for pro-slavery emigrants to Kansas. Major Jefferson Buford of Eufaula, a member of the Southern Rights Association, raised a force at his own expense.<sup>63</sup> On Friday, April 4, 1856, about 350 Alabamians and Georgians gathered at Montgomery, the rendezvous point. About 100 men from Montgomery volunteered. The citizens gave a great reception for the emigrant volunteers at Estelle Hall, where Alpheus Baker spoke.<sup>64</sup> The next day, the group formed up at the agricultural fair grounds into a battalion of four companies, one of them composed of the Montgomerians. They attended services at the Baptist Church Sunday, where the pastor, Dr. Isaac T. Tichenor, recommended they be given Bibles as more appropriate for brotherly love and Christian

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<sup>61</sup>Blue, *Montgomery*, 31.

<sup>62</sup>*Acts of Alabama*, 1852, 392-93; 1853-54, 480-81; 1856, 223-24.

<sup>63</sup>Albert Burton Moore, *Alabama and Her People* (Chicago, 1927), I, 449.

<sup>64</sup>See account in Joseph Hodgson, *The Cradle of the Confederacy* (Mobile, Ala., 1876), 347-53.

charity than the Sharpe's Rifles — "Beecher's Bibles" — supplied the northern Emigrant Aid Society soldiers.

On Monday, the 7th, after further church services, Buford's battalion marched to the wharf to board the steamboat *Messenger* for Mobile. A crowd of 5,000 saw them off; they were serenaded by a Negro band, and Henry W. Hilliard addressed the throng from atop a cotton bale. The battalion carried two banners, one which read, simply, "Kansas" and the second bore on either side the slogans "The Superiority of the White Race" and "Kansas—the Outpost." The Montgomery company wore silk badges inscribed with "Alabama for Kansas — North of 36°30'," and "Bibles—Not Rifles." The attempt to make Kansas a slavery outpost failed, however. Buford's battalion gradually dispersed, and most of them returned home. While in Kansas, two Montgomerians, Powell and Dickers, were captured by Free Staters, disarmed and tortured before being released on the same night other Alabamians were attacked in the besieged town of Franklin.<sup>65</sup>

"Bleeding Kansas" was only a harbinger of further preparations for the conflict some term "irrepressible". As the bitterness grew between North and South, fireaters, notably Alabama's W. L. Yancey, called for further defense measures. After the Southern Commercial Convention in Montgomery, May 10, 1858, he urged the organization of "committees of safety" patterned after those formed in the Thirteen Colonies before the Revolution. He advised the organization of local and State leagues. Three committees were formed in Alabama, one of them in Montgomery.<sup>66</sup> A further Revolutionary parallel was seen two years later, when, during the 1860 Presidential campaign, some of those speaking for Breckenridge and Lane boldly proposed the

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<sup>65</sup>Walter Lynwood Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society* (Montgomery, Ala., 1904), 173-78, 186. The captains of the three Alabama companies were Gordon, Brown and Andrews. Possibly the last was the Capt. W. G. Andrews who headed the True Blues in January, 1861. If so, he may have headed the Montgomery company in Buford's battalion.

<sup>66</sup>Moore, *Alabama and Her People*, I, 504.

organization of "Minute Men", pledged to carry out secession.<sup>67</sup> The *Montgomery Weekly Mail* took a leading part in fostering this movement, and encouraged the Minute Men Clubs, including one in Montgomery, to sport the revolutionary blue cockade, and to circulate pamphlets from Charleston, South Carolina, such as John Townsend's "The South Alone Should Govern the South", and W. D. Porter's "Mr. Douglas and the Doctrine of Coercion."<sup>68</sup>

John Brown's Raid frightened the South into taking active military defense measures. Military clubs were organized between September 1859 and the November 1860 elections. Alabama newspapers asked what the Governor was doing for defense, the Legislature in December 1859 called for an investigation of the military situation, and Governor A. B. Moore asked the General Assembly for laws "... to put the defense of the State in order."<sup>69</sup> The Legislature responded with the Military Organization Act to enroll 8,000 men into the Volunteer Corps of the State of Alabama in 44-80 man companies, and assigning county quotas. Montgomery County's was 300. There was also voted \$200,000 for arms and equipment. Scholarships of \$250 were provided for two young men from each county to attend the military academies at Glennville, Barbour County, or at LaGrange College, Franklin County as State Cadets. In return they would return home to teach school and drill the new military companies.<sup>70</sup> A military training unit was also directed to be organized at the University of Alabama. By February 27, 1860, 74 companies had been approved by the Legislature. Alabama was not alone in her martial preparations in 1860.

Under the intense excitement, state legislatures made appropriations for the organization and equipment of their militia "for active and efficient service."

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<sup>67</sup>Lewy Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama from 1850 Through 1860* (Wetumpka, Ala., 1935), 162.

<sup>68</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Mail*, Nov. 9, 1860.

<sup>69</sup>Thomas Alton Smith, "Mobilization of the Army in Alabama, 1859-65," (unpublished Master's thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, History Department, 1953), 4-5, 12. Hereafter cited as Smith, "Mobilization."

<sup>70</sup>*Acts of Alabama*, 1859-60, 36-41, 641, 39-41, 90-91.



Armories were put in order. Guns were purchased and military companies were soon drilling in business-like fashion all over the South. Local factions forgot their differences, and South Carolina and Mississippi hopefully sent out agents to urge again the holding of a Southern convention to secure unity "in measures of defense."<sup>71</sup>

The Montgomery True Blues had just re-elected Tennent Lomax their captain on January 9, 1860, and had chosen W. G. Andrews, first lieutenant, J. T. Holtzclaw, second lieutenant, J. E. Wyman third lieutenant, B. S. Theiss fourth lieutenant and J. F. Johnson, surgeon.<sup>72</sup> Lomax, however, was soon selected as colonel of the 2nd Regiment, Volunteer Corps of Alabama, and was succeeded in command of the Blues by David M. Owens.<sup>73</sup> Owens and the other officers on behalf of 63 members, petitioned the Legislature for \$150 for tents and camp equipage to further prepare the Blues for the field.<sup>74</sup>

On February 24, 1860, the Metropolitan Guards of Montgomery, which had been organized in 1859, were incorporated by the Legislature.<sup>75</sup> On December 18 they notified Governor Moore that the following officers had been elected: Captain Joseph S. Winter, First Lieutenant Virgil S. Murphy, Second Lieutenant Julian Whiting, and Third Lieutenant James N. Gilmer.<sup>76</sup> In the spring of 1860 the Montgomery Greys were organized with Albert Elmore as captain. This unit served throughout the Civil War, and after Reconstruction was re-organized, as were the True Blues. The two units later would represent Montgomery in friendly military rivalry until after World War I.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (vol. VI of *A History of the South*) (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), 310.

<sup>72</sup>James H. Van Alstine, *et al.*, to Gov. A. B. Moore, Jan. 9, 1860, Alabama Military Records.

<sup>73</sup>Brewer, *Alabama*, 476.

<sup>74</sup>Capt. David Owen *et al.* to Alabama Legislature, Montgomery, Ala., n.d., but referred to the Military Commission Feb. 11, 1860, in Alabama Military Records.

<sup>75</sup>*Acts of Alabama, 1859-60*, 138.

<sup>76</sup>James H. Wagon to Gov. A. B. Moore, Dec. 18, 1860, Alabama Military Records.

<sup>77</sup>*Souvenir*, 20-21.

After Abraham Lincoln's election in November 1860, the Deep South moved steadily toward secession in anticipation of his March 1861 inauguration. The Secession Convention met at Montgomery on January 7, 1861, and the State seceded from the Union on January 11th. Earlier, on the 3rd, Governor Moore activated six companies of the Volunteer Corps of Alabama to seize Forts Morgan and Gaines at Mobile and the Federal Arsenal at Mt. Vernon. On the 8th he ordered six more companies to Ft. Morgan, and the Convention empowered him to activate 500 men of the Corps to help Governor Perry of Florida seize the United States forts at Pensacola.<sup>78</sup>

It seems fitting for the times and for the True Blues social as well as military character that they were enjoying a grand ball at the Old Concert Hall on January 8th after a street parade when they received marching orders to Pensacola.<sup>79</sup> They reported as Co. A, 2nd Alabama Regiment, Army of Alabama, and were stationed at Fort Barrancas for two months. Their officers were: Captain W. G. Andrews, First Lieutenant J. T. Holtzclaw, Second Lieutenant E. R. Spalding, and Third Lieutenant Sherman Stevens.<sup>80</sup> Colonel Tennent Lomax commanded the 2nd Alabama there. A pay roll for the period shows 67 enlisted men present and the fact that each officer had his Negro Body servant.<sup>81</sup>

The True Blues had been accused of being a "silk stocking company" back in 1836 during the Seminole War. On this account, it may be interesting to note the members' occupations given on their first 1861 muster roll. The officers listed above were respectively a merchant, a lawyer, a clerk, a merchant,

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<sup>78</sup>Smith, "Mobilization", 13-15.

<sup>79</sup>Benjamin M. Washburn in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, Feb. 23, (?), 1906, clipping in "Blues Scrapbook."

<sup>80</sup>Gov. A. B. Moore to Secretary of State of Alabama, Jan. 21, 1861, Alabama Military Records.

<sup>81</sup>Montgomery True Blues, Pay Roll and Certificates, Ft. Barrancas, Fla., Alabama Military Records.

and a physician. There was a total of 71 members, and their occupations included:

Clerks — 14	Dentists — 2
Merchants — 9	Editors — 2
Planters — 7	Restaurateurs — 2
Lawyers — 7	Teachers — 2
Bookkeepers — 5	Civil Engineer — 1
Printers — 5	Druggist — 1
Doctors — 3	Policeman — 1
Law Students — 3	Trader — 1
Artists — 2	Clerk of Court — 1
Carpenters — 2	

Interestingly, 14 were born in Northern states and two in Bavaria.<sup>82</sup>

At Fort Barrancas the True Blues unspiked the guns, and remounted them for service, threatening the Federal garrison at Fort Pickens.<sup>83</sup> Fifty years later it was claimed that the Blues fired the first shot of the Civil War before Fort Sumter was shelled. Ned Fletcher, in 1891 the superintendent of the Pratt Gin Manufacturing Company of Prattville, recalled that he and his brother George, and Lew Gilmer, later of Birmingham, then members of the Blues, were in charge of the sunset and sunrise signal gun. One night someone charged it with a shot, next morning Ned touched off the powder, and the ball whizzed over the Federal garrison in Fort Pickens. The United States Sloop *Wyandotte*, Lieutenant Shimmer commanding, lying in harbor, immediately sent a flag of truce to Fort Barrancas to learn “if hostilities had opened”!<sup>84</sup>

Other Montgomery units were sent to garrison the coastal forts, as well. The Metropolitan Guards served at Pensacola from January 9 to February 23. The Montgomery Rifles were

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<sup>82</sup>Montgomery True Blues, Muster Roll, Montgomery, Ala., Jan. 9, 1861, Alabama Military Records.

<sup>83</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Mail*, Jan. 18, 1861. Letter from Cpl. J. F. Whitfield, *Mail* editor.

<sup>84</sup>*Prattville Progress*, Nov. 6, 1891.

also mustered in January 9 and sent to Fort Morgan. Their officers were Captain J. B. Bibb, First Lieutenant Wade Keyes, Second Lieutenant J. J. Cook, Third Lieutenant James Y. Brame, and Surgeon J. B. Gaston, and there were 63 others.<sup>85</sup> Back in Montgomery, other companies participated in the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederate States of America. The military procession, commanded by Captain Paul J. Semmes of the Columbus (Georgia) Guards, was a battalion composed of the Montgomery Independent Rifles, Captain Robert C. Farris; The Alabama, or German, Fusiliers of Montgomery, Captain S. Scheussler; the Eufaula Rifles, Captain Alpheus Baker; and the Columbus Guards with their little brass cannon, "Red Jacket," commanded by Lieutenant Roswell Ellis.<sup>86</sup>

Shortly afterwards, the Independent Rifles were sent to Fort Barrancas. In addition to Farris, the other officers were First Lieutenant W. T. Tramm, Second Lieutenant R. F. Cole, and Third Lieutenant M. L. Kirkpatrick, and there were 55 enlisted men.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, the units on the coast returned home, were mustered out of Alabama State service, and almost immediately reorganized into Confederate States service. On March 18 the Metropolitan Guards elected as captain, F. Winston Hunter, first lieutenant, Virgil S. Murphy, second lieutenant, James N. Gilmer, third lieutenant, George P. Holmes.<sup>88</sup> The Guards were

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<sup>85</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Mail*, March 1, 8, 1861. Later, after the Montgomery units returned home and were reorganized for Confederate service, Brame apparently transferred back to the True Blues as a private. *The Montgomery Advertiser*, April 26, 1861, lists him among the Blues leaving for the Virginia front.

<sup>86</sup>James P. Jones and William Warren Rogers, eds., "Montgomery as the Confederate Capitol: View of a New Nation," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, (Spring 1964), 32-33, quoting *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Feb. 19, 1861. Hereafter cited as Jones and Rogers, "Montgomery". Another source, writing years later, stated erroneously that the True Blues, Rifles and Metropolitan Guards were in the procession. Actually, they were on coastal duty. See James B. Simpson, *Alabama State Capitol* (Montgomery, Ala., 1898), 30.

<sup>87</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Mail*, March 8, 1861.

<sup>88</sup>James H. Wagnon to Gov. A. B. Moore, March 22, 1861 and Moore's endorsement to Secretary of State of Alabama, March 23, 1861, Alabama Military Records.



reorganized for twelve months military service on April 26, designated Co. F., 3rd Alabama Infantry on April 28, and received into the Confederate States Army service May 4. The Montgomery Greys elected as captain, Samuel G. Hardaway, first lieutenant, N. H. Clanton, second lieutenant, J. B. McCarty, and junior second lieutenant, George Goldthwaite.<sup>89</sup> Designated Co. G, 6th Alabama Infantry Regiment, CSA, the Greys were soon "off to the seat of the war."<sup>90</sup>

The Montgomery Mounted Rifles, an independent cavalry company, originally organized December 22, 1860, was reorganized May 1, 1861 under Captain (later Brigadier General) James Holt Clanton, and sent to Pensacola on May 26. The unit returned to Montgomery September 27, and split over the issue of taking up a new enlistment. The odd result was that one faction became the so-called Montgomery Mounted Rifles, Jr., later Co. K, 1st Alabama Cavalry under Captain B. C. Tarver, and the other, the Montgomery Mounted Rifles, Sr., under Colonel T. J. Goodwin, was attached to the 1st Alabama Cavalry only until its original enlistment expired in May 1862. Both portions of the original company served at Shiloh.<sup>91</sup> The future Confederate Major General William Wirt Allen began his service in this command.

Upon their return to Montgomery the True Blues entertained themselves. A Charleston, South Carolina, correspondent in April reported that the Blues, "an old corps identified with the Mexican and Florida Wars" were en route to the parade ground to vie in a rifle match for a "silver goblet from the fair hands of the fascinating Maggie Mitchell," a noted actress of the day then playing in Montgomery.<sup>92</sup> Immediately afterwards, they were mustered into service as Co. G, 3rd Alabama

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<sup>89</sup>Gov. A. B. Moore to Secretary of State of Alabama, May 3, 1861, Alabama Military Records.

<sup>90</sup>*Montgomery Daily Post*, May 2, 1861.

<sup>91</sup>Dr. T. M. Owen in *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Dec. 18, 1910. Also see *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, April 20 and March 1, 1861 for tender of services and muster roll.

<sup>92</sup>Quoted in Jones and Rogers, "Montgomery," 67.

Infantry Regiment, and left at the end of April for Virginia.<sup>93</sup> The noted English war correspondent, William Howard Russell, reported seeing a "very fine company of infantry and three field pieces with about 120 artillerymen, on their march to the railway station for Virginia."<sup>94</sup> This very likely was the Blues, for it will be recalled that they had been a composite infantry and artillery corps since 1836. Later, in Virginia they were split, the infantrymen serving in Virginia as Co. G, 3rd Alabama Infantry, and the artillery as W. G. Andrews' Battery in North Carolina.

All these Montgomery volunteer military companies performed well in the Civil War, and were the seedbeds for future Confederate leadership. Clanton and Allen of the Mounted Rifles became generals as did Lomax (posthumously) and Holtzclaw of the Blues. Joseph B. Bibb and D. T. Blakey, ex-Blues officers, rose to the rank of Colonel. The True Blues, for whom more documentation is available than is the case for the other units, furnished the Confederacy several other field-grade and at least a dozen company-grade officers. Thus, the ante-bellum military companies, for all their social activities and perhaps because of their "week end" soldiering, as we would term it today, were of great service to the Confederacy when the ultimate solution of arms was joined in 1861.

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<sup>93</sup>*Montgomery Advertiser*, April 26, 1861.

<sup>94</sup>William Howard Russell, *Pictures of Southern Life* (New York, 1861), 20.



ONE YEAR OF THE WAR:  
CIVIL WAR DIARY OF JOHN WITHERS  
ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE  
CONFEDERATE ARMY

Edited by

H. E. Sterkx & L. Y. Trapp

When Captain John Withers resigned from the United States Army on March 1, 1861,<sup>1</sup> he ended a promising career. At the time he was an assistant in the Adjutant-General's Office at Washington, D.C. and a favorite of General Samuel Cooper, the head of that department. Like many Southerners he abandoned his ambitions and cast his lot with the Confederacy.

Withers was born on February 22, 1827, in Tennessee and reared in Jacinto, Tishamingo County, Mississippi. He belonged to a well-to-do family. The Alabama branch included such prominent kinsmen as his Uncle Jones Withers, Mayor of Mobile, and Aunt Suzanna Withers Clay, the wife of Governor C. C. Clay. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, as the diary shows, he sought the company of such Alabama cousins as C. C. Clay, Jr., Virginia Clay, and Hugh L. Clay and his wife Celeste. Moreover, he moved in the politiest society which included some of the most prominent men and women of Civil War times. After reaching manhood young Withers identified himself as a resident of Alabama and spent his leaves of absence from the army with relatives in Huntsville and Mobile.

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<sup>1</sup>Information for the Introduction has been taken from the following sources: M.S. Diaries of John Withers, Records of the War Department, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group No. 109, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. from its establishment, in 1802, to 1890 with the early history of the United States Military Academy* (Boston, 1891), II, 388-389.



In 1844 Withers won an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. He graduated twenty-third in a class of forty-three in 1849 with the rank of Second Lieutenant attached to the 5th Infantry. As a young officer Withers saw duty in such frontier posts as Fort Gibson, I. T. [Oklahoma], Fort Vancouver, Washington, Territory, and as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Department of Texas. It was in Texas that he met and married Miss Anita Dwyer of San Antonio. Soon after his marriage he was promoted to Captain in the Adjutant-General's Department at Washington, D.C.

John Withers began a diary in 1856 while on duty in the Washington Territory and continued to make almost daily entries until 1862. The original diary is located in the National Archives together with a few official papers relating to the career of this officer. Only the 1861-1862 part of the manuscript is used here. During this period he was Assistant Adjutant General of the Confederate Army stationed in Montgomery and Richmond. At war's end Withers moved to San Antonio, Texas, where he engaged in the banking business.

The diarist is not extravagant in presenting a detailed account of the exciting events in which he was both a witness and participant. It is more of a personal history of a non-combatant officer in the two Confederate capitals. As such he gives information that may be of some value to the historian and the genealogist. In this very personal account some items have been omitted as irrelevant.

### January, 1861

*Tuesday, 1st.* The officers of the Army and Navy, the former headed by General Scott, and all in full uniform, were presented to the President at a quarter before noon to-day; the members of the Cabinet and Diplomatic Corps, with their wives, were present. The general reception took from noon until 2 P.M. I make several calls after going to the President's and went to see Mrs. Colomen Bonneville amongst the rest. It was a bright day overhead, but the streets were wet and slippery. It has been, altogether, not an agreeable New Years day to me

and my family. Our little boy has a bad cold, I have the same, and our old nurse Charlotte is in bed with the same. We officers of the Army could not call upon Genl. Scott—he was so much exhausted by the effort of going to the President's that he returned to his Quarters to go to bed. Mr. Holt, the Post Master General, is to be acting Secretary of War, in place of Mr. Floyd resigned. We all remained at home in the evening, and retired early on account of the indisposition of several members of the household. Cold at night.

*Wednesday, 2nd.* I was at the office as usual to-day, took a walk with Anita down the Avenue after dinner, and remained at home in the evening. Foggy in the morning, mild and cloudy in the afternoon, and raining at night. There was a very large fire on the avenue last night, by which six large stores were destroyed.

*Thursday, 3rd.* Busy at the office as usual. Saw General Scott in Col. Cooper's room. Nothing of special importance going on. Called to see Hazen, and some other officers at Willard's after tea. Charlotte and Edward are still suffering from colds.

*Friday, 4th.* I merely opened the mail and left the office for the day—this being a day set apart by President Buchanan as one for fasting, humiliation and prayer. Remained at home all day.

*Saturday, 5th.* I left the office about half after one o'clock, P.M. Anita and I went up to a reception at Col. Craig's about half after two P.M.: the Colonel's daughter was married recently to Maj. Hunt, of the 1st Artillery, and it was their reception, or rather her's, as the Major has been ordered off upon some secret service, and was not at the reception. We met many of our friends in and out of the Army. Beautiful day. I walked down the avenue after dinner—met Mrs. McCormick, Nannie and her little Cousin Annie Wells from Annapolis.

*Sunday, 6th.* Anita and I went to church at St. Aloisius: she was quite unwell all day, with sick headache. I walked down to the hotel (Brown's) after tea, to see if I could hire a cook, and

found that Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie had arrived here yesterday afternoon. I went up to their room, and remained until about ten o'clock. Cousin Clement looks very much better than I had expected to have seen him, and Cousin Jeannie looks remarkably well.

*Monday, 7th.* In the afternoon, Anita, Mary, and I went to the hotel to see Cousin Jeannie. We left about half after seven to go to the theater, where we saw Hackett as Falstaff in Henry IV. It was an admirable performance: a crowded audience.

*Tuesday, 8th.* Mary and I went to hear Hackett as Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, in the Man of the World. It was fine. We remained until the afterpiece, and heard him in His last legs. Lovely day and night.

*Wednesday, 9th.* Snowed during forenoon, but melted before night. We remained at home in the evening. Nothing special going on.

*Thursday, 10th.* At the office in the morning and until 3 P.M. At home balance of day, and evening. Mr. Davis spoke in the Senate to-day: made one of the best efforts of the session.

*Friday, 11th.* Mr. Hunter delivered an able speech in the Senate to-day.

*Saturday, 12th.* Mr. Seward delivered one of his Delphic Oracle speeches to-day—he satisfied no one. There never has been such a crowd in the galleries as assembled there to-day. Several hundred persons came over on the morning Baltimore train to hear him. Cousins Clement and Virginia, and Lieut. Nelson, of the Navy, took dinner with us. We had an excellent dinner, and everything went off well. Anita played and sang some of her prettiest pieces after dinner. Cousin Clement went to a Senatorial Caucus after leaving us. Cousin Jeannie and I went to the theater and heard Hackett as "Colonel Nimrod Wildfire" in "The Wild Kentuckian of 1815," and in "Monsieur Mallet": he was very fine in both.

*Sunday, 13th.* Anita, Mary and I went to St. Matthew's church in the forenoon: remained at home remainder of day and evening. Clear and cold—the coldest day I have felt this winter, I think.

*Monday, 14th.* At the office until 3 P.M. I walked down to see Lt. Talbot in the afternoon. Very bad day: snow in the morning and sleet at night. Anita was quite sick at night—she and Mary ate snow during the day, which gave her cold. Lt. Hall, and Mr. Hayne from South Carolina, arrived here from Charleston to-day, the former from Maj. Anderson's command, and the latter from his state, on a mission to President Buchanan.

*Tuesday, 15th.* In the evening I went to see Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie, and called by to see Mrs. McCormick: Cousin Jeannie and her friends at Brown's, were all going to the first Levee of the season at the President's. Nannie Wells and her cousin have also gone. Rain and slush all day and at night.

*Wednesday, 16th.* Dined at Capt. Palmer's Top. Engrs., at six, P.M. Mr. Archibald Campbell, formerly of the Army, late Chief Clerk of the War Dept., and new commissioner of the U.S., to define our North Western boundary, was the honored guest. Col. Lay, Capt. Franklin, Capt. Humphreys, Capt. M. L. Smith and myself, with Mr. Hull Adams, were the company. Capt. & Mrs. Palmer presided with much dignity, and we spent a most delightful evening.

*Thursday, 17th.* I called to see Macfeely and his wife in the evening—saw Mac, but the Madam had gone on a visit to Alexandria. I afterwards called at Mr. Davis', and spent an hour or so—met Gov. & Mrs. Fitzpatrick, Mr. & Mrs. Yulee, Mrs. Riggs and Dr. Smith there. Found Capt. & Mrs. Maynathier, with Henry and his wife at my house, when I returned.

*Friday, 18th.* Mild and wet all day and at night. I remained at home all the afternoon and evening.

*Saturday, 19th.* Anita, Mary and I spent the evening at Dr. Smith's after making some other visits in the afternoon.



*Sunday, 20th.* We went to St. Aloisius Church in the morning, and remained at home the balance of the day.

*Monday, 21st.* We went to the theater at night, and heard Jefferson in "Our American Cousin." Cousin Jeannie sat with us. There was a very large audience.

*Tuesday, 22nd.* Nothing special going on.

*Wednesday, 23rd.* I went to Baltimore in the afternoon—took tea at Col. Van Nesse's and went with Col. Brush to see Mr. Cain, the Chief of Police, in regard to a rumored attack on Harper's Ferry. Spent an hour or two at Dr. Jarvis'. Went to Barnum's, took tea, and went to bed.

*Thursday, 24th.* Returned to Washington in the morning. Very bad day—rain and snow. N. T. Magruder, and his wife came over in the same train with me, I spent the evening with Cousin Jeannie, after calling a little while at Mr. McCormick's. Cousin Clement was very unwell to-night, with asthma.

*Friday, 25th.* Walked down the avenue after dinner, and remained at home during the evening. Cloudy and damp to-day.

*Saturday, 26th.* Snowed all day. Remained at home in the afternoon and evening. Hazen called in a little while after tea.

*Sunday, 27th.* I went to Mr. Payne's Church (Episcopal) and heard a Clergyman from Ireland on the subject of a bible society for the translation of the bible into Irish. Anita went to St. Matthews. After dinner we all went to Brown's to see Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie. We took Edward with us. Very mild and delightful to-day, although there is two or three inches of snow on the ground. There were a good many sleighs out during the day.

*Monday, 28th.* I was at the office as usual. In the afternoon I walked down the avenue, and remained at home in the evening. Pleasant day—snow melting. Dr. & Mrs. Smith, and Miss Smith, came in and sat an hour or so after tea.

*Tuesday, 29th.* Mary and I walked down the avenue after dinner. I remained at home in the evening.

*Wednesday, 30th.* Anita, Mary and I went to Col. Craig's after tea, but the ladies were out: we then stepped over to Capt. Jordan's and sat a while, although Mrs. Jordan was away.

*Thursday, 31st.* We all went to a hop at Brown's in the evening. Cousin Clement was suffering from asthma, but Cousin Jeannie managed to get downstairs in time for supper. The hop passed off very agreeably. My pay, Col. Andrews, was \$157.60¢, and my commutation, Capt. Miller was \$46.00¢. Anita's rents amounted to \$100.00¢. Our income, therefore, was \$303.60¢. Our expenses were \$270.90¢. Our income exceeded our expenses by \$32.69¢.

### February, 1861

*Friday, 1st.* I was at my office as usual. In the evening I walked down to see Cousin Clement. I met there Commander Page and Lt. Nelson, of the Navy, Mr. Judge, the commissioner from Alabama, and Mr. Hayne, the commissioner from South Carolina. Anita has a headache to-day. Rained in the afternoon and evening. Foggy.

*Saturday, 2nd.* W. E. Jones took dinner with us to-day. I regret to notice in the papers the death of poor Ben Forsythe, a class-mate and warm friend of mine: he was found dead in his bed at Port Jarvis, N. Y., yesterday morning. Softening of the brain was his disease, I believe. Snow melting, drizzly, and foggy to-day. A salute of thirty-four guns was fired from the Armory grounds in this City to-day, in honor of the admission of Kansas into the Union. Fry, in command of Magruder's battery, fired the Salute.

*Sunday, 3rd.* We went to St. Aloisius in the morning, and heard Father McGuire. Cloudy and damp all day. In the evening we went to Brown's and spent an hour or two with Cousins Jeannie and Clement. Quite cool when we returned home.

*Monday, 4th.* Snowed last night, but melted during to-day. I visited some officers in the afternoon.

*Tuesday, 5th.* Went to see Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie: found them packing up to leave.

*Wednesday, 6th.* Cousin Clement went to Petersburg to-day, to spend a few days with Cousin Thomas Withers. Cousin Jeannie went to Baltimore in the morning, and returned to our house in the evening.

*Thursday, 7th.* I was ordered to Texas to-day, but got the order changed, and Lt. Collins was sent instead. Bitter cold today, and to-night. Very windy.

*Friday, 8th.* Very, very cold all day and night. We remained at home all day and at night.

*Saturday, 9th.* Anita, Mary, Cousin Jeannie and Mr. Judge, the commissioner from the "commonwealth" of Alabama, went to the reception at the President's to-day.

*Sunday, 10th.* Anita and Mary went to church. I went to the office a short time, and opened the mail. Mr. Judge dined with us to-day.

*Monday, 11th.* We all went to the theater at night, and saw Miss Charlotte Cushman as Queen Catherine, in Henry the Eighth.

*Tuesday, 12th.* We were sorry to part with Cousin Jeannie, who left us this afternoon. She seemed to regret leaving very much: she had many visitors, even up to the time of her departure. Mary, Anita and I went to hear Miss Cushman in the evening—she appeared as Meg Merriles.

*Wednesday, 13th.* Mary and I went to hear Miss Cushman as Lady MacBeth—Anita stayed at home. The votes for President and Vice President were counted to-day.

*Thursday, 14th.* This, St. Valentine's day, has been a very quiet

one with us. Mrs. McCormick called in the afternoon, and Judge Hughes at night. Anita has had sick head-ache all day. Rained at night. The weather has been very mild for a week past.

*Friday, 15th.* Rained to-day. Nothing going on. I visited at Capt. Palmer's after tea. We changed cooks to-day.

*Saturday, 16th.* Nothing going on of a very special character. Lt. Washington, Aid-de-Camp to Genl. Twiggs, arrived here with despatches from Texas this evening. I went with him to see Genl. Scott, and Maj. Townsend. Rained in the afternoon.

*Sunday, 17th.* Washington and I went to St. Aloisius, and Anita went to St. Matthew's Church in the morning—Mary remained at home. Washington took dinner with us:—after tea, he and I went over and saw Mr. Guin.

*Monday, 18th.* Nothing special going on.

*Friday, 22nd.* Washington left here for Texas yesterday. I am thirty four years of age to-day, and my little boy is eleven months old. To-day is a holiday, and the citizen soldiery turned out—the regulars were to have paraded, but the order was countermanded. Beautiful day. We all went out to see the crowd.

*Saturday, 23rd.* Mr. Lincoln, the President elect, who was expected here in the afternoon, reached here early this morning: he called, with Mr. Seward, to see Genl. Scott, and Mr. Buchanan. Mrs. McCormick went over to Annapolis to-day. I made some visits in the evening. Rained in the afternoon.

*Sunday, 24th.* Anita, Mary and I went to St. Matthew's Church in the morning, and heard a beautifully eloquent sermon by the Rev. Father Clarke, a native of this City. In the evening I walked down to Willard's, and saw Mrs. McLean a little while. Lovely moonlight night—just cool enough to be agreeable. Anita is not well to-night.

*Monday, 25th.* Lovely day. Nothing special going on. I walked down the avenue after dinner.



*Tuesday, 26th.* Anita, Mary and I visited some in the afternoon, and spent the evening at Mrs. Gwin's: we had a most charming evening. Mrs. Gwin, Miss Lucy, and her younger sister and Mrs. Browne, with us, were the persons present. Beautiful day and night.

*Wednesday, 27th.* Fine day. Anita and Mary, with Edward and Charlotte, went to the Capitol, and spent some time to-day: Anita and I walked down to Capt. Garesche's after dinner, to inquire after his little child that has been very sick for several days past. We all feel elated to-day, because of a report that the peace conference, under the influence of Mr. Lincoln, has come to an amicable agreement about the settlement of our national troubles.

*Thursday, 28th.* Beautiful day—very mild. We all feel well as there seems to be some hopes of the preservation of the Union. Anita and Mary went visiting to-day. I walked down to see Capt. Garesche after dinner to be ascertained if there was any way in which I could serve him, or in which Mary and Anita could assist his wife—they lost their youngest child this morning, and of course are greatly afflicted. My pay, Col. Andrews, was \$151.30¢: My commutation, Capt. Miller, was \$46.00¢. Anita's rents amounted to \$90.00¢. Our income, therefore, amounted to \$287.30¢. Our expenses were \$212.75¢. Our income exceeded our expenses by \$74.55¢.

### March, 1861

*Friday, 1st.* Beautiful day—March has come in like a lamb. I walked down the avenue after dinner, and took Anita to Church after tea. Billy Beall, who has just arrived here, called to see us while we were at church—Mary entertained him, and his nephew, young Abadie, for half an hour or so. The following Order was issued to-day; viz:

War Department,  
Adj't. Genl's Office,  
Washington, March 1, 1861.

Genl. Orders No. 5

The following order is published for the information of the Army:

War Department, March 1, 1861.

By the direction of the President of the United States it is ordered that Brigadier General David E. Twiggs, Major General by Brevet, be, and is hereby, dismissed from the Army of the United States, for his treachery to the flag of his country, in having surrendered, on the 18th. of February, 1861, on the demand of the authorities of Texas, the military posts and other property of the United States in his department, and under his charge.

(signed) J. Holt,

Secretary of War.

By order of the Secretary of War.

(signed) S. Cooper,

Adjutant Genl.

*Saturday, 2nd.* I was very busy to-day. A number of the officers of the Army, Genl. Scott, Genl. Wool, Genl. Totten and others, called to say farewell to President Buchanan and Secretary Holt in succession—both of them made very pretty and affecting speeches: Genl. Scott spoke very feelingly on behalf of the Army. Anita and Mary called at Mrs. Douglas' to-day, and we all subsequently went to call on Billy Beall's Sister and Niece. Very warm to-day.—Mary and I went to the Capitol and entered the Senate Chamber—we heard a debate by Senators Pugh, Ohio; Baker, Oregon; Simmons, N. Jersey; and others on the Peace Conference measures. There was a great crowd of ladies and gentlemen in the galleries. We saw the U.S. Flag floating over the Capitol: long may it continue to do so.

*Sunday, 3rd.* We went to St. Aloisius church in the morning. Mrs. Cockrane, her daughter, Billy Beall and young Abadie took dinner with us. In the afternoon, Anita, Mary and I took a walk—delightful weather. We had no fire all day, nor in the evening.

*Monday, 4th.* Fine day—a little windy. I was kept at the office until near one o'clock, copying some of Major Anderson's letters for Mr. Holt, and finishing up some other business which it was desirable to have closed at once. Anita, Mary, Mrs. Cochrane, and her daughter, under the escort of Billy Beall

and young Abadie, went down to the Kirkwood House, and had a fine view of the Presidential Cortège as it passed down the avenue:—I got down in time to see the procession on its way back from the Capitol to the White House after the completion of the inaugural ceremonies. Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address will be variously interpreted according to the hopes and fears of the different readers of it: for myself, I see much in it to encourage the hope of a conciliatory course on the part of the President. There was no enthusiasm to-day.

*Tuesday, 5th.* Very windy, quite cold, and altogether disagreeable. Anita, Mary, Mrs. Cockrane, her daughter and Billy Beall went to the Patent Office, notwithstanding the impropitiousness of the day.

*Wednesday, 6th.* I received a letter from Cousin Withers Clay, and one from Aunt Clay, this morning, urging me to resign my commission in the Army at once. I went to see Bell at Mr. McCormick's in the evening: he, and all my friends in the Army, oppose my resigning. Pleasant day.

*Thursday, 7th.* I resigned my commission in the Army of the United States to-day, and it was accepted by the President, to take effect the 1st. of March, 1861. Colonel Samuel Cooper, Adjutant General, U.S.A., also resigned, and his resignation was accepted to take effect March 7th, 1861. Dr. Smith called in the evening—I subsequently walked down to see Billy Beall at the Kirkwood House—he was out. Beautiful day. A great many of my friends were in the office to see me to-day, to advise me to wait awhile before resigning.

*Friday, 8th.* Anita and Mary visited most of day. I wrote several letters at the office. A great many persons called to express their regrets at our having-determined to leave the City.

*Saturday, 9th.* Very bad day: rained hard until the afternoon. I packed my books to-day, and Anita packed some of her clothes. Several of our friends came in to see us at night: some remained very late.

*Sunday, 10th.* We went to St. Aloisius Church in the morning. Billy Beall took dinner with us. Cloudy and cool. Capt. and Mrs. McLean called in the afternoon.

*Monday, 11th.* I was busy all day getting ready to move. A good many of our friends called to see us during the day and evening. Beautiful day and night. The withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter appears to have been definitively settled upon—this certainly must have a most soothing effect upon the Southern people. When the *people* come to be heard, as eventually must be the case, the rebellion, I think, will be put down.

*Tuesday, 12th.* Cloudy in the morning. Busy all day getting ready to start. Many friends called to see us in the evening.

*Wednesday, 13th, Thursday, 14th., Friday, 15th.* We were traveling the above days from Washington, D.C., to Huntsville, Alabama: reaching the latter place about 1, P.M., on Friday. Mary went to Uncle Le Vert's, and Anita and I went to Aunt Clay's—Uncie Clay was at the plantation.

*Sunday, 31st.* We have spent the past 16 days with our relatives in Huntsville: we have had an agreeable visit. I drew my pay from the 17th. (the date of my appointment) until the 31st., inclusive, which amounted to (79.00¢) seventy nine dollars. Anita's rents amounted to \$60.00¢. Our income therefore, was \$139.00¢.

Our expenses were \$313.15¢.

Our expenses exceeded our income, by \$174.15¢.

April, 1861

Anita and I left Huntsville on the 1st., and reached Montgomery on the 3rd., from which time until the end of the month I continued on duty in the Adjutant General's office. We remained at the Exchange Hotel until the 29th., when we secured lodgings at Mrs. Ponder's, on the hill: the madam is a rich widow, who took us at the insistance of several friends. Many important events have transpired during this month which I ought to have re-



corded, but which, having failed to notice as they occurred, I do not now recollect in their order, and so omit mention of all except the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and the secession of Virginia from the U. S. Government.

My pay for April was \$158.00¢, and my commutation from the 3rd., inclusive, was \$36.39¢. Anita's rents amounted to \$57.50¢. Our income, therefore, was \$251.89¢. Our expenses were, \$440.79¢.

Our expenses exceeded our income, by \$188.90¢. We paid this month \$174.54¢ of last and this year's expenses — for the taxes for the year, cleaning ditches, and four months commission for collecting this year.

May, 1861

*Tuesday, 14th.* Anita and I are getting on well at Mrs. Ponder's. The weather is becoming quite warm, and mosquitoes begin to abound. Genl. Cooper and I are in charge of the Adj. General's Department: Lt. Col. Deas and Maj. Clay both having been ordered to Virginia. President Davis, and Mrs. Davis, went to Pensacola today. Capt. Jossely, Capt. Shaaff and Miss Saunders spent the evening with us. Edward is not well today.

*Wednesday, 15th.* Quite cool in the morning.

*Friday, 17th.* Anita and I attended a reception at Mr. Toombs in the evening, which was a most agreeable reunion. We saw the Vice President, (Mr. Stephens), Mr. Rives from Va., and other men of eminence. Mr. & Mrs. Wigfall (Texas), Mr. Mrs. & Miss Memminger, (S.C.), Gov. & Mrs. Fitzpatrick, (Ala.), Mrs. Pope Walker, Miss Howell, (sister of Mrs. Davis) and many others, were present. We had refreshments. My wife was as handsomely dressed, and as handsome, as the handsomest. We remained from nine until half after ten o'clock, P.M. Weather very agreeable, indeed.

*Sunday, 19th.* Genl. Copper, Lt. Grover and I, were kept at work in the office all the morning. Rained hard from eleven, A.M., until one, P.M. Maj. Beall & Mr. Calvert called to see us late in the afternoon.

*Monday, 20th.* Anita and I called to see Mrs. Davis after tea. We met Mr. Rives and Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, of Va., and Mr. & Mrs. Wall of Texas. Pleasant weather.

*Tuesday, 21st.* Our little boy has not been well for three weeks past — yesterday I got a homeopathic physician to call and see him, and he is better today. I called at the President's about two, P.M.: this is to be Mrs. Davis' last reception, for the present, I understand. Maj. Beall and Mrs. Wall called to see Anita in the evening.

*Wednesday, 22nd.* Quite cool this morning; so much so that we had a little fire in our room before breakfast.

*Wednesday, 29th.* During the past week Congress has adjourned and we have all packed up for a move to Richmond, Virginia, in pursuance of a resolution which was passed prior to the adjournment (removing the seat of Government to the latter place). Many have gone already, and Anita and I are to leave in the morning, at eight, o'clock. Alexandria, Va., has been occupied during the past week, by troops from Washington City.

*Thursday, 30th.* We left Montgomery for Richmond early in the morning. The baby stood the day's travel very well.

My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$30.00¢, both paid by Maj. J. L. Calhoun. My transportation from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia, was \$87.60¢ paid by Major Larkin Smith, Asst, Qr. Master at the latter place.

### June, 1861

*Sunday, 16th.* During the past two weeks (we arrived here just two weeks ago today). I have been hard at work in the office. Great numbers of troops have arrived here from the South. On Monday last, the 10th., an engagement took place between the U.S. and the Confederate States forces at Bethel Church near Yorktown, in which the latter utterly routed the former, although the latter had only 1,200 men whilst the

former are reported to have had 4,000. It is reported that our loss was only one killed, and half a dozen wounded, whilst theirs was 225 killed, and great numbers wounded; they acknowledge to having lost 30 killed and about a hundred wounded. I have been kept so busy with my official duties lately that I have neglected almost all others — the keeping up of my journal amongst the rest; and that, too, at a time when I ought to have written it out most regularly and carefully. Last Thursday was a fast day, on the recommendation of President Davis: we heard the Bishop of Chaleston preach, and afterwards called to see him, and Bishop McGill.

*Sunday, 23rd.* I have been kept very busy at the office during the past week: the weather has been hot. Anita went to early Mass this morning, and I went to St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church at eleven, o'clock. Edward is getting on finely — he has eight teeth.

*Monday, 24th.* A number of Captains and Lieutenants of some North Alabama Companies which are to form a Regiment, sent in a written petition to the President today, to have me appointed their Colonel: I sent the petition to the Secretary of War myself. These gentlemen have been verbally endeavoring to accomplish the same object for more than a week past.

*Saturday, 29th.* Another petition from the gentlemen above-mentioned, and to the same effect, was taken to the President today by Genl. O'Neal (the Major of the Regiment.)

We have had nothing especially interesting occur this week.

Mr. Lamar, from Mississippi, the Lt. Col. of Col. Mott's 19th, Miss. Regiment, had a stroke of apoplexy or paralysis tonight, in camp, from which it is feared he cannot recover.

*Sunday, 30th.* Anita and I went to church in the forenoon: we were kept in by rain sometime after services ended. Forney got here last night, and part of Regiment will be here today: the remainder will arrive this week. My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$30.00¢ both paid by Major Larkin Smith, Qr.Mr.

July, 1861

*Wednesday, 10th.* One week ago, last night, we noticed a very large and distinct comet located in the North West — it was about as large and distinct as any I have ever seen save one. It was still visible last night. The weather has been very warm for a week past, and our dear little boy has been sick, cutting teeth, during the same time. The day before yesterday I got a dentist to pull out a piece of the root of one of my jaw teeth — it had gradually been working its way to the surface for three years.

*Saturday, 20th.* After suffering with sick stomach and purging bowels since the night of the 4th. Inst., our dear Angel Baby, Eddy, quietly breathed his last, at three o'clock this afternoon. Bishop McGill, my wife and I, with poor old Charlotte, were with him when he died. The blessed Angel is in Heaven: we are bereft, indeed. Dr. Brewer, Asst. Surg. C.S. Army, and Dr. Conway, did all that science could do; and Mrs. Duval, her sister Mrs. Govan, and Miss Susan Duval, helped my wife, myself, and Charlotte, to nurse him tenderly, but all to no avail. God wished him to be at home, and therefore took him to Heaven.

*Sunday, 21st.* Our Angel Boy was put away to rest just before the sun went down. At 5, o'clock. P.M., Bishop McGill read the prayers of the church for the burial of children, in the parlor at Mrs. Duval's, and afterwards made a most beautiful discourse on the subject of infant baptism. My wife was not present. I was downstairs. Mrs. President Davis, Mrs. Genl. Johnston, Mrs. Maj. McLean, Mrs. Major Blair, Mrs. Capt. Williams, the ladies and gentlemen at our house, and a few other friends were in attendance. Lovely day. Col. Chilton, Captain Williams, Mr. Duval, and Mr. Branch, were the pall bearers. Col. Chilton and Captain Deshler sat up with our infant's body last night. My wife and I went up to Mrs. Nelson's after tea, and remained all night.

At night we learned that this sacred day to all, to us doubly so, has been the occasion of the greatest battle ever fought on this Continent, and in which the Southern forces have been entirely successful. President Davis was on the field at Manassas



Junction, Va., in the afternoon. About 55,000 men of the Northern Army fought about 35,000 of the Southern Army from early morn until near nightfall, when the former were utterly routed. Night closed in on their full retreat, and our eager pursuit.

*Wednesday, 31st.* My wife and I spent a week at Mrs. Nelson's and then returned home, where we have since remained. Great numbers of sick, wounded, and prisoners, from the North, and numbers of our sick and wounded, have been brought down, and cared for in various hospitals and private houses in this city.

My pay, Maj. Larkin Smith, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, the same gentlemen, was \$30.00¢, for the month:

August 1st, 1861

*Thursday, 1st.* Brother Fred, who arrived in the city last night, came to see us today!!

*Sunday, 4th.* Very warm, Anita and I went to church in the morning, and heard an excellent sermon from Bishop McGill.

*Friday, 9th.* I have been kept very busy at the office all this week. The weather has been oppressively warm. Anita has been feeble, and had a headache yesterday — she is better today. We had a heavy rain towards nightfall. Fred received orders yesterday, and reported to Genl. Winder today for duty—he is assigned to duty with the guard for the Yankee Prisoners.

*Monday, 26th.* Anita and I went over to Petersburg Saturday afternoon, and returned early this morning. We stayed at Cousin Tom Wither's, and had a most delightful visit. We saw Aunt Dolly Walker, Cousin Tom Adams, and his sister, Mrs. Boggs. The weather has been much cooler for ten days past. I am kept very busy, every day.

*Saturday, 31st.* Congress today fixed the rank of the Generals in the Army of the Confederate States as follows:

Samuel Cooper

Albert S. Johnston

Robert E. Lee  
Joseph E. Johnston  
G. T. Beauregard

My pay was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$30.00¢, both paid by Maj. Larkin Smith.

September, 1861

My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$30.00¢, both paid by Lt. Col. Larkin Smith.

October, 1861

My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$45.00¢, both paid by Lt. Col. Larkin Smith.

November, 1861

My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$49.50¢, both paid by Lt. Col. Larkin Smith.

December, 1861

My pay this month was \$158.00¢, and my commutation \$48.00, both paid by Lt. Col. Larkin Smith.

Anita and I spent Christmas Eve at Mr. Mauray's. We went to Church Christmas Day, and dined at Mr. Maynard's. We spent the evening after Christmas at Mrs. Nelson's. Altogether we had as cheerful a time as we could have had under the circumstances.

January, 1862

*Wednesday, 1st.* Anita and I walked up to see Mrs. Thos. G. Williams after church. I went to the President's Levee, the first general one he has given in Richmond. Mrs. Davis was not visible, her little child being only a few weeks old. The President and his Aide, Col. G. W. C. Lee, received us at the door of the middle room: we were then presented to Mrs. D. R. Jones, and Miss Howell, the former a relative of the President's first wife,

and the latter the sister of his second wife. I called at a few other places.

*Sunday, 5th.* Today is my wife's twenty-third birthday. We went to church, dined at home, (Mrs. Duval's) and had some cake and cherry bounce in our room after dinner: Dr. & Mrs. Brower enjoyed the latter with us, and we sent some up to Mr. & Mrs. Branch. The weather has been charming during the holidays, but it turned very cold yesterday and has been bitterly so today — sleeting occasionally.

I heard, a few days since, of the death of my dear Aunt Mary Woodson Withers, which took place at Huntsville, or rather near there, on the nineteenth of December, 1861. Thus in one year have I lost my Angel Baby, my cousin Augustine J. Withers, who was like a brother, and my dear Aunt, who was my mother in feeling and action after my mother's death. God knows that 1861 was a sad year for me.

*Thursday, 9th.* The weather has been quite cold for a few days until last night when it moderated very much. We have a heavy atmosphere of fog and smoke to breathe tonight. A little rain fell last night, but tonight we have moonlight through the fog. There has been a dearth of news all this week.

*Sunday, 12th.* I went to see Stevens in the morning, (W. H. Stevens, of the Engineers' a classmate of mine) who came down from Manassas a couple of days since, and is now sick at the Spotswood Hotel.

*Tuesday, 14th.* Genl. Cooper and Col. Deas went up to Manassas last evening. A considerable fall of snow occurred last night. Genls. Longstreet, Jones, and Van Dorn are down from Manassas. Anita and I went to an entertainment at Dr. Wayts' in the evening — we took Mr. & Mrs. Duval in our carriage. I dined at Mr. John Purcell's, and had a most agreeable time with a dozen other gentlemen.

*Wednesday, 15th.* Rained today, making the walking very bad

indeed. We had more quiet at the office today than is usual, no doubt owing to the state of the weather.

*Tuesday, 21st.* Ex President John Tyler, who died a little after twelve o'clock last Friday night, the 17th., or rather the morning of the 18th., was buried today; his remains were carried from the capitol to St. Paul's Church, where funeral sermon was preached by Right Revd. Bishop Johns, of the Episcopal Church. It was raining, and I did not attend.

Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Nelson's mother, and Tom Williams' Grandmother, died this morning at half after eight o'clock.

I wrote to Cousin Clement Clay this morning, and then called to see Stevens a little while. Drizzling all day, and during the evening.

*Thursday, 23rd.* Mrs. Greenhow was buried this morning. I went to the church, and Anita went on to the cemetery.

*Friday, 24th.* Cold, sleet, rain and wind, all day and during the evening. The Yankees will have a hard time at Hatteras. We have heard that our troops in Eastern Kentucky, under Crittenden, sustained a defeat last Sunday: Genl. Zollicoffer is reported to have been killed, and it is said our loss in killed and wounded will amount to four hundred — the enemy's loss was also severe: five hundred our report says.

*Friday, 31st.* We spent the evening at Mr. Maury's. Rained and sleeted at night.

My pay this month, Capt. Barksdale, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$45.00¢.

### February, 1862

*Saturday, 1st.* Rainy all day. Nothing of especial interest transpiring.



*Sunday, 2nd.* Anita and I went to church in the morning, and took dinner at John Purcell's. Damp and raw at night.

*Monday, 3rd.* Snow fell last night and this morning. Rained pretty much all the afternoon and evening.

*Tuesday, 4th.* Cousin Edmund Withers, Lucy Duval and I, went to the African Church at night to hear blind Tom play the piano, sing, and speak: he has grown since I heard him in Washington last winter, and has improved in his playing. He played "Fisher's Hornpipe" with the right hand, "Yankee Doodle" with his left, and sang "Dixie," all at the same time.

*Sunday, 9th.* Anita has been suffering with face ache and sick stomach for several days. The weather has been wet and disagreeable for a week past. We have a rumor today that Yankee vessels have run up to Florence, Alabama, on the Tennessee River. Rumors of foreign interference, fighting on Roanoke Island, &c., &c., are rife. Anita was taken with pain in right side, short breathing and fever about nine, P.M., which continued all night.

*Tuesday, 18th.* . . . Some of Anita's lady friends sat with her during the morning. Anita took a soft-boiled egg for breakfast—she took a little during the day. Cloudy, but no rain during the day. Both houses of Congress met today — Mr Bocock, of Va., elected Speaker without opposition. Rain at night. Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie arrived here in the afternoon, and took a room at Mrs. Duval's. Cousin Jeannie sat with Anita in evening. Dressed her blister at night.

*Wednesday, 19th.* Rained steadily all day. Weather quite mild. I was at the office as usual, coming home a little while at noon to see how my wife was getting on. Cousin Jeannie spent most of the day with Anita. I was tendered the appointment of temporary Major in the Adjutant General's Department yesterday, and declined it today. Cousin Edmund Withers called in the afternoon. I think Anita has heard too much talking today—from this, or from others cause, she seems to be a little feverish tonight: this passed off after company dispersed . . . Cousin Clement's health

is much better, apparently, than it has been for some time. Cousin Jeannie is fatter than I have seen her.

*Thursday, 20th.* Pleasant day. A good many ladies, at least a dozen, called to see Anita today — Mrs. Col. Chilton sat all the morning, and until two, P.M., with her. She and Cousin Edmund Withers went to hear blind Tom play the piano in the evening . . .

*Friday, 21st.* Fine day. Dr. Dean came to see Anita in the morning, and said her lip was swollen from a gum boil . . . She slept very little today, on account of the number of visitors she had. Mrs. Toombs called to say farewell to her — Mrs. Toombs is just breaking up housekeeping, to go to Georgia. Mrs. Dr. Trent sent my wife some sweet flowers, and some delicious wafers today. Mrs. Duval and Mrs. Stuart dressed her blister in the evening — it has nearly healed up. Cousin Clement went to hear blind Tom play in the evening. Cousin Jeannie, of course, had a room full of company all day. The Rev. G. V. Macdona, who came to Texas from Ireland about four years since, (he was then a mere youth), who became a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and who has since become a clergyman in the Episcopal in Virginia, but wants to return to Ireland.

*Saturday, 22nd.* Today is my thirty fifth birthday. Rained steadily all day, and during the evening. Dr. Dean came to see Anita in the morning . . . he lanced a gum boil on Anita's upper lip. He says she is getting on finely, and will improve even more rapidly than heretofore, now that the two sources of irritation above mentioned have been removed. Genl. Cooper, Col. Myers, Col. Chilton and I went up to the Capitol at noon to witness the inauguration of President Davis; the crowd was so great that Genl. Cooper and I left. Everything passed off as pleasantly as possible, considering the rain poured down during all the ceremonies. In the evening Anita was much better: so much so that I went to the reception at the President's. Capt. & Mrs. Myers, from North Carolina came up from the Exchange, and took Cousin Clement, Cousin Jennie and myself with them. Cousin Jennie, I think, was more handsomely dressed, and the most stylish looking lady in the house. The reception was fully attended, and the company was very fair. Cousin Jeannie and

Mrs. Myers came in to see Anita before they went to the President's — the ladies in our house came in to see their dresses.

*Sunday, 23rd.* Cloudy today, but no rain. I was at home nearly all day, and during the whole evening. Anita is improving steadily: she sat up on the sofa for two or three hours today . . . Several ladies have been with her during the day and evening. Mrs. Myers came in after tea. Cousin Clement spent the afternoon and evening at the President's. The temperature is quite mild today.

*Monday, 24th.* I was busy at the office today. Anita was up when I returned home at three, P.M. She is much better today. No action on her bowels. The wind was unusually high all day. Clear and mild — a little cool in the afternoon and evening.

*Tuesday, 25th.* Very fine day. Cousin Lawson arrived here in the afternoon. Anita has been improving all day. She used an anema today. I got her a couple of partridges: the Doctor called to see her, and said she could eat a little of almost anything that she desired. Several ladies called to see her during the day. She sat up, and walked about the room a good deal. She is still very week . . .

*Wednesday, 26th* Pleasant in the forenoon. Begun to rain about two, P.M., and continued all the afternoon and evening. Anita sat up pretty much all day. Her lady friends are sending her many nice little things to eat. She is steadily convalescing.

*Thursday, 27th.* Beautiful day. Anita is still improving.

*Friday, 28th.* Fine day. Day of Fasting and Prayer. I went up to attend service at the Catholic Church at the usual Sunday hour, eleven o'clock, but found that Services had just closed, having begun at ten, A.M. I went up to Mr. John Purcell's, and remained an hour or so. Anita is getting on very well. Churches all very much crowded today. My pay this month, Capt. Barksdale, was \$150.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$45.00¢.

## March, 1862

*Saturday, 1st.* President Davis has today proclaimed martial law over Richmond, and the country adjacent for ten miles in all directions. Cold and raw all day. Anita complained of sick headache in the afternoon, and went to bed early. Cousin Clement has been coughing a good deal this afternoon, and at night.

*Sunday, 2nd.* John Monor Botts was arrested this morning, on a charge of disaffection to the Government — many other less important arrests have been made during the day. I went to the Catholic Church in the morning. Anita is improving. She put on her hoops and corset, and dressed up nicely today. Damp and raw all day.

*Monday, 3rd.* Wet and cold today. Very windy at night, and alternately rainy and clear. Two or three fires at night. Anita is getting better.

*Tuesday, 4th.* Clear and windy all day — not very cold. I was occupied at the office all day. Anita is still improving.

*Wednesday, 5th.* Pleasant day. I took Anita out riding in a closed carriage about noon — She is improving steadily. Bishop Wilmer (from Alabama) was consecrated at St. Paul's today.

*Thursday, 6th.* I took Anita to Mr. John Purcell's about noon, and left her there for the day. Got quite cold in the afternoon, and snowed all the evening. We took dinner at Mr. Purcell's, and got home before dark. I went to Dr. Conway's at ten in the evening, and remained until midnight. It was an entertainment in compliment to the graduating class at the Medical College. I met many acquaintances, had a delicious supper, plenty of wines, &c., and spent a most agreeable evening generally.

*Friday, 7th.* Clear and cool all day. Anita did not go out today. Cousin Jeannie and I called to see Mrs. Myers at the Exchange after tea. Beautiful moonlight night.



*Saturday, 8th.* Fine day. Anita rode out with Cousin Jeannie during the day — she had a headache at night.

*Sunday, 9th.* Anita and I went to church in the morning—we rode going, and walked returning. Anita had head-ache and tooth-ache all the afternoon. We heard to-day that our iron clad vessel at Norfolk, the Virginia, had sunk the Frigate Cumberland, destroyed the Frigate Congress, badly used up the Steam Frigate Minnesota, and destroyed two gun boats.

*Monday, 10th.* All Richmond was elated to-day with the brilliant achievements of the Virginia. Anita had a jaw tooth pulled out to-day. Fine weather.

*Tuesday, 11th.* I was quite unwell all day. I took ten grains of blue mass last night. I took two anti-bilious pills to-night.

*Wednesday, 12th.* I was quite feeble all day, and had headache. I was at the office all day, however.

*Thursday, 13th.* I was better to-day. Anita and I took dinner at Dr. Wayts—Mr. & Mrs. Wootten were also invited, and some young ladies were present. Rained a little in the afternoon.

*Friday, 14th.* I was busy at the office all day. Cloudy and damp. Rumors of a victory of Confederates, under Van Dorn, over the Federals, under Curtis, were rife on the streets to-day.

*Saturday, 15th.* Rained hard to-day. Cloudy and damp at night. Some of us went from Mrs. Duval's (Cousin Clement & Cousin Jennie, Mr. & Mrs. Wootten, and little Lucy Duvall with myself) to hear Harry McCarthy in his comic songs, and recitations and to see his jigs. He is decidedly a genius.

*Sunday, 16th.* Anita and I went to church in the morning. The ceremonies were very imposing. The exposition of the Holy Sacrament was made—the beginning of a forty hours devotion—and a procession marched round the inside of the church. The Bishop, (Rev. Father McGill), all the Priests, Sisters, Schol-

ars and orphans, assisted. Anita and I took dinner at Mr. John Purcell's. Fine weather.

*Monday, 17th.* Fine weather still. Cousin Jeannie, Anita and I, went up to call at Tom Williams'. Mrs. J. G. Walker is at Mrs. Williams', and has a little daughter three days old.

*Tuesday, 18th.* The Cabinet of the Permanent Government organized to-day by the confirmation by the Senate of the following gentlemen:

*Wednesday, 19th.* Anita and I took dinner at Mrs. Nelson's to-day—pleasant weather.

*Thursday, 20th.* Rained at intervals during the day.

*Friday, 21st.* Showery to-day—weather quite mild. The President went up to Gordonsville to-day, and of course the City is all agog as to the object of his visit. It may be that he believes a great battle is soon to be fought by the Army of the Potomac.

*Saturday, 22nd.* Mild and cloudy. I was busy at the office during the day. I dined with Mr. Crane to-day. Brig. Genl. H. A. Wise, Captain Webb, of the "Teazer," Mr. John Purcell, Judge Lyons, Dr. Peachy, Captain Purcell, of the "Governor's Guard," 4th. Regt. Va. Cavalry, Major Stannard, and Aid-de-Camp of Genl. Wise, and myself composed the party. One or two of the above happened in while we were at dinner. We sat down about 5, P.M., and left about 9, P.M. We passed a most agreeable time. Genl. Wise did good service with his tongue: Dr. Peachy is also a most agreeable dinner companion. The dinner was a very nice one, and the wines were delicious.

*Sunday, 23rd.* Anita and I went to church in the morning—fine weather.

*Monday, 24th.* The new Secretary of War, Mr. Geo. W. Randolph, took charge of his office to-day. Anita and I rode out to see Mrs. Walker, at Tom Williams'. Genl. Walker arrived here

from Fredericksburg with his brigade in the evening, en route to North Carolina.

*Tuesday, 25th.* Washington and his family reached here from South Carolina to-day. Wilcox arrived here from Manassas with his Alabama brigade to-day: Col. Sydenham Moore, of the 12th, Ala., and Lt. Col. O'Neal of the 9th. Ala. Regt. called to see Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie, my wife and I, in the evening. Cousin Thomas Adams was also here. Pleasant Weather—rather frosty at night.

*Wednesday, 26th.* Fine day. Washington and his wife spent the evening with us.

*Thursday, 27th.* Anita and Cousin Jeannie went out visiting to-day—they, and Cousin Clement, with Mrs. Wootten, went to Metropolitan Hall in the evening, to witness some "War Illustrations."

*Friday, 28th.* Beautiful day—nothing special going on.

*Saturday, 29th.* Anita has determined to make Mrs. Myers a visit in Salisbury, N.C. Damp Day.

*Sunday, 30th.* Damp and drizzly. Anita and I took a carriage and went to Church in the morning we then called to see Mrs. Walker at Tom Williams'. Remained at home in the afternoon and evening. Anita is ready to be off tomorrow afternoon—she expects to stay in Petersburg to-morrow night.

*Monday, 31st.* I left the office at half after one, P.M., so as to help my dear wife get ready for her trip. Anita took a carriage in the morning, and called to say adieu to several of her lady friends: she got her dinner, and I took her to the depot in time to be off in the 3 o'clock train for Petersburg, where she is to rest for the night. Mrs. Winder, with her daughter and son were my wife's traveling companions. Anita took Charlotte and six trunks. I have a very bad cold in my head, and felt badly all day. Cousin Jeannie insisted on my going with Cousin Clement, Dr. Read and herself to see Mrs. Davis in the evening. Mrs. Davis was looking as well as I ever saw

her, talked a great deal, and made herself unusually sociable. We met Mr. Orr, of S.C., Mr. Yancey, of Ala., Gov. Letcher, of Va., and the President himself. Both Mrs. Davis and President were very particular in the inquiries after my wife, and spoke most kindly of her, as they always do. We returned home about nine, having made a visit of about an hour.

My pay this month, Capt. Barksdale, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$45.00¢.

### April, 1862

*Tuesday, 1st.* I felt badly all day—headache and heavy discharge from my nose. I took tea at Dr. Wayts, after writing a short letter to Anita.

*Wednesday, 2nd.* Got a telegram from Edmondston at Raleigh, saying Anita passed through that City yesterday. I wrote to Anita in the evening, and then went up to see Mrs. Nelson. Had a very bad night—suffered pain in my left nostril which kept me awake from two, P.M., pretty much until morning. Mr. & Mrs. Wootten left us this morning.

*Thursday, 3rd.* I suffered a good deal of pain in my head to-day: considerable discharge from my nose. Called to see Mrs. Washington in the afternoon. Remained at home in the evening. This has been really a lovely day out of doors. Mrs. Stuart left us this morning, to join her husband at Gordonsville. Col. Blanton Duncan, Lt. Col. Scott, 4th. Ala., (formerly member of Congress from California) Mr. S. S. Scott, of Ala. and Mrs. Philip Clayton spent the evening with Cousin Jeannie. Mr. Gwin arrived here from Baltimore to-day. I wrote Capt. Myers a note to-day.

*Friday, 4th.* I suffered greatly from my cold to-day. No war news of interest.

*Saturday, 5th.* Disappointed in not getting a letter from my dear wife. I moved my room at the office to-day—instead of



having seven gentlemen writing in the same room with me, I now have only one.

*Sunday, 6th.* My cold is a little better to-day. I went to church and heard Bishop McGill preach. Beautiful day. A large number of troops from Genl. Joe Johnston's Army are passing through the City to-day, enroute to Yorktown, where a great fight is expected soon to occur. I took tea at Mr. James Purcell's, and spent the evening there. I got two letters from my dear wife to-day—one dated the 3rd., which came by mail, and one dated the 5th., brought me by Mr. Myer Myers, a brother of Captain Myers. I was truly rejoiced to hear from my beloved Anita.

*Monday, 7th.* Richmond is elated to-day with the news that a great battle between ours and the Yankee troops was fought at Pittsburg on the Tennessee River, on the 6th., in which we were completely victorious. We lost our gallant commander in chief, Albert Sidney Johnston, which has cast a gloom over the great victory. Bad, rainy day. Troops still passing through to Yorktown—nothing new from there.

*Tuesday, 8th.* Rained slowly all day, and at night. No additional news of interest. I took dinner at Mrs. Nelson's. No letter from Anita to-day: I wrote to her last night, and sent her a letter from Joe and some papers. I remained at home all the evening.

*Wednesday, 9th.* Rained all day. I wrote to Anita in the afternoon. We received news to-day that Buell re-enforced Grant's beaten Army on the night of the 6., attacked Beauregard on the 7th., fought until 1, P.M., and re-captured a good deal of property of various kinds which we took from them on the 6th. Beauregard retired to Corinth, and is-being re-enforced by Van Dorn's Army from Arkansas, a number of Regiments from Chattanooga, Tennessee, and all the forces he can assemble from Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It seems as though a great fight must soon be fought at Corinth, before which all the rest must sink into comparative insignificance. Meantime large numbers of troops continue to pass through here from

Joe Johnston's Army, en route to Yorktown, where another conflict of arms seems imminent.

*Thursday, 10th.* Rainy, disagreeable day. Nothing special going on.

*Friday, 11th.* Fine day. Cousin Jeannie left early this morning to make a visit to Mr. Lay's sister, (Mrs. Watkins), who lives about 30 or 40 miles from Richmond. We received news to-day that Huntsville, Alabama, has been occupied by the Yankees. Cousin Clement was right sick in the afternoon—he took a little chloroform, which nauseated him, and caused him to throw up his dinner. In the evening he was better. Stevens and Wm. E. Jones, of my class, spent the evening with us. I heard from my dear wife to-day—she is improving in health. Genl. J. E. Johnston and staff are in the City.

*Saturday, 12th.* It is reported that Fort Pulaski, near Savannah, Georgia, has surrendered to the Federals, after a bombardment of two days and nights—the surrender is reported to have taken place the day before yesterday. Genl. G. W. Smith and Staff are in the City. Genl. S. called at the office this evening. Beautiful day. Washington, Jones, Wm. E., and I went up and took tea with Tom Williams at his mothers this evening.

*Sunday, 13th.* I went to church in the morning. The services were long, being Palm Sunday, and the Bishop's sermon was short. I took dinner at Mr. James Purcell's, after calling to see Mrs. Genl. Rhodes at Mr. Charles Purcell's. Toomb's Brigade passed down main street late in the afternoon, en route to Yorktown. Toombs made himself very conspicuous, and was evidently "intipsicated with regard to." He would lead one regiment by a given point, and then charge back to head a succeeding regiment—bowing to the ladies, and even taking his hat clean off, in recognition of their handkerchief waving, &c. In the evening I walked up to the Spotswood Hotel for a while. Dr. Brewer's brother, a Lieutenant in the Washington Artillery," La. Volunteers, got here this afternoon, and sleeps in my room to-night. Fine weather.

*Monday, 14th.* Genls. Lee, G. W. Smith, J. E. Johnston, and the President had a long consultation to-day, and I expect a fight on the peninsula will take place to-morrow or the day after. I got letters from my wife's Aunts in Dublin to-day—they were dated January 23rd., '62. I wrote to Anita to-night. Mild day, but somewhat cloudy. Washington took tea with me, and spent the evening. Cousin Jeannie returned this afternoon from her visit to the country.

*Tuesday, 15th.* Pleasant day. I was busy at the office as usual. I called at Mr. Maury's in the evening. Tom Williams came down to see Cousin Clement and Jeannie, and spent an hour or so in the evening.

*Wednesday, 16th.* Genl. Longstreet's Division of the Army of the Potomac passed through the City to-day, en route to Yorktown. There were some ten thousand men, Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry. Brig. Genl. A. P. Hill led off the Infantry—Brig. Genl. Pendleton the Artillery, and Brig. Genl. Stuart the Cavalry. Jones, Wm. E., and Beverly Robertson were with their Cavalry Regiments. The Infantry passed down Main Street—the Cavalry down Franklin, and the Artillery down Franklin, to the square, and thence down Main. It was a grand sight. I heard from my dear wife to-day, and am truly grateful to learn that she is improving in health: I write almost every day. Beautiful, spring like, day. The French Minister, Count Mercier arrived here from Washington this evening: of course innumerable conjectures are indulged as to what his object is in coming here just now.

*Thursday, 17th.* Lovely day—mild as Spring sure enough. Nothing special going on.

*Friday, 18th.* This has been a stirring day in Richmond. It seems to have transpired that the French Minister has come here from Washington, on a mere tour of observation—that the Lincoln Government have affected the tone of conquerors already, and assured him that the rebellion would be crushed out in three months, at the farthest. We have it reported that the Federals have attacked Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the

Mississippi, below New Orleans, with their Mortar Fleet. There has been some farther demonstration upon Savannah, Georgia, and a reported attack upon Fort Macon, Georgia. It is said, too, Federals—that 15,000, under McDowell, are there. There are reports, also, of an unexpected move against Stonewall Jackson, and of his having fallen back. We have nothing from the Peninsula, to-day, although the street rumor is that there has been more fighting there. Very mild all day. Sprinkled rain a little about tea time.

*Saturday, 19th.* Drizzling rain during the day. No military news of importance.

*Sunday, 20th.* Rained a good deal to-day. No military news of consequence—none at all, in fact. I went to church in the morning. This being Easter Sunday, the ceremonies at the church were very elaborate, the Bishop (McGill) saying mass. The music was very fine, Mr. Dacoeniel's new mass was played. I took dinner at Mr. Jno. Purcell's, and wrote to my wife in the afternoon. Remained at home in the evening.

*Monday, 21st.* Rainy, disagreeable, day. Cousin Clement dined with Monsieur Mercier, the French Minister, at Mr. James Lyon's country seat: besides the host and hostess, and the two gentlemen abovenamed, the party consisted of the Secretary of Legation, of Hon. Mr. Gwin, Mr. W. M. Browne, Mr. Perkins, of La., Mr. Wyndham Robinson, Senator Conrad of La., Monsieur Paul, the resident French Consul, and some one else whom I do not now recall (Judge Meredith). It was a most agreeable entertainment. Washington took dinner with me. I took tea at Tom William's mother. No military news of special importance.

*Tuesday, 22nd.* It is said that the French Minister left for Washington to-day. Fine weather. Washington has been ordered to Texas, and I have been struggling with myself, all the afternoon and evening, to get my own consent to Anita's going with him home. I think the trip would benefit her, and yet I am so selfish as to wish she may not prefer to go. It is very hard for me to think, even, of being so far from my dear

wife. Miss Dean, daughter of Dr. Dean, was married at the Monumental Church, this evening, to Dr. Lyons, son of Mr. James Lyons, and all of this City. Cousin Jeannie, Mrs. Duval, and Mrs. Abbott attended. It was a grand affair.

*Wednesday, 23rd.* Busy at the office until two, P.M. Went to Petersburg in the afternoon.

*Thursday, 24th.* Traveled all day, and got Salisbury, N.C., at half after two o'clock at night. Went to Capt. Myer's, and found my dear wife much improved in health, but still nothing like so strong as I had trusted she would be.

*Wednesday, 30th.* Rained pretty much all day. I spent most of the day at Capt. Myer's. I am having a most charming visit.

My pay, Capt. Barksdale, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$48.00¢, during this month.

### May, 1862

*Thursday, 1st.* I left Salisbury on my return to Richmond about ten o'clock at night.

*Friday, 2nd.* Missed the connection at Raliegh, and laid over all day. Saw Edmondston, and staid at his room. Saw Mrs. Brewer. Took a ride with Genl. Martin, in the afternoon out to the military encampment. Took tea at Genl. Martin's. Raliegh is a beautiful place. Fine day.

*Saturday, 3rd.* Was detained a while in Petersburg. Saw Cousins Clement and Jeannie. Came over in same train with Mr. Mallory, Sec. of Navy, and Mr. Randolph, Sec. War, both of whom were returning from Norfolk to Richmond. I reached Richmond about half after nine o'clock, P.M.

*Sunday, 4th.* Gentlemen at the office all glad to see me. I went to church in the morning, and heard Bishop McGill. Took dinner at Mr. James Purcell's, and tea at Mr. Jno. Purcell's.



*Monday, 5th.* Worked hard in the office to-day. Took dinner at Genl. Cooper's. I am going to take a room at Genl. Cooper's house, although I am sorry enough for having ever determined to do so. I am infinitely better off at Mrs. Duval's. Rained all day.

*Tuesday, 6th.* Pleasant day. Moved up to Genl. Cooper's. Spent the evening at Mrs. Duval's—Cousin Clement was there.

*Wednesday, 7th.* Confused reports of a fight below Williamsburg on Monday last: Richmond greatly excited.

*Thursday, 8th.* It seems that Longstreet's Division of the Army of the Peninsula, the rear guard of the army, had a brilliant fight with a portion of McClellan's forces on Monday last, in which we repulsed the Yankees, and took upwards of three hundred prisoners: heavy loss on both sides. It farther appears that Whiting's brigade, or rather his division, had an affair with the enemy near Barhaursville, in New Kent County yesterday, and drove his forces to their gun boats.

*Friday, 9th.* Fine weather. Richmond is wild with all sorts of rumors to-day. Upwards of three hundred Yankee prisoners, taken near Williamsburg, arrived here last night. I saw the breast plates which were taken yesterday from a Yankee officer who was sent down from some part of Western Virginia where he was captured. They are made of iron, and cover the chest completely. We hear that Jackson fought and whipped the Yankees near Stanton on yesterday.

*Saturday, 10th.* Norfolk was evacuated to-day. I believe.

*Sunday, 11th.* I was kept at the office until after church time to-day. I took dinner at Capt. Maynard's.

*Monday, 12th.* It is stated that the Merrimack-Virginia, *our Navy*, was blown up on yesterday morning: This news has created the most profound sensation of all the events of the war.

*Wednesday, 14th.* Great excitement in the City to-day, caused by the appearance of the Yankee iron-clad steamers Monitor and Galeno, and some wooden gunboats near the obstructions on the James River about eight miles below this point. We were very near sending off valuable books and papers to Columbia, S.C. The vessels threw only a few shells at our battery.

*Thursday, 15th.* Matters quieted down to-day. The Governor, Common Council and President have announced their determination to defend Richmond to the last extremity. The enemy's vessels shelled our batteries from 7, A.M. until about noon, when they retired. We lost five men killed and a few wounded—a midshipman named Carroll was one of the killed. Great excitement amongst all classes of the population.

*Friday, 16th.* I went to Mass at nine o'clock A.M. Bishop McGill gave a short and very pretty lecture, in the course of which he counselled all who were able to do so, and who were of no service here, to leave the City, whilst all who could be of use were to remain and defend their homes with their lives. He was truly patriotic and christian in his advice. I wrote to my dear wife after services were over. All is reported quiet at the batteries this morning.

*Sunday, 18th.* I attended church this morning, and heard a beautiful sermon from Bishop McGill upon the teachings of the Catholic Church touching the classes of persons outside the pale of the church, so to speak, who would not be eternally lost. The sermon was as good as any I have ever heard—the clearest, I think, I ever listened to.

*Sunday, 25th.* I went to church in the morning, dined at Mr. James Purcell's, and walked out to Mr. Cowardin's in the afternoon. During the past week, the Yankees has gotten up within five miles of Richmond, and a good deal of skirmishing has taken place. We can hear the cannonading in the City. We had two or three days of wet weather the past week.

*Tuesday, 27th.* Beautiful day, although it promised rain early

in the morning. Captain Maynard and I rode out, in the afternoon, to within sight of Mechanicsbury, where we saw Yankee pickets, and a Yankee flag. We heard heavy cannonading, and volley after volley of Musketry out towards Hanover Court House: a heavy skirmish, if not quite a battle has evidently taken place not more than eight or ten miles from Richmond to-day. I met General Lee going out with some of his staff, trying to learn what was the amount of the fight. The Yankees had up two balloons all the afternoon—the balloons appeared to be eight or ten miles distant from each other, and probably the same distance from Richmond.

*Wednesday, 28th.* Captain Maynard and I rode down to Drewry's Bluff, about eight miles below the City, in the afternoon, and examined our batteries there. The place really seems impregnable against any river attack, and can only be taken by land approaches. We saw Capts. Lee, Tucker, Chetard, and other Naval officers who are in charge of the river obstructions, and of the land batteries. We got back to the city after dark a while. Nothing special on our lines around the City to-day.

*Thursday, 29th.* Grover went up the canal a few miles with our office papers to-day. Nothing of importance has transpired on our lines to-day. Fine weather.

*Friday, 30th.* Pleasant in forenoon, but terrific thunder storm, with wind and rain, all the afternoon and evening. No matter of moment transpired on our lines to-day, so far as heard from. The storm was terrific at night.

*Saturday, 31st.* A portion of our forces attacked the Yankee command which is this side the Chickahominy, to-day, about six miles below the City. Genl. Longstreet's and Genl. Whiting's Divisions were engaged, and drove the enemy from his redoubts, ricleptis, and camp, with what loss of life or wounded on his side we cannot tell. Our loss in killed and wounded was very severe. Genl. J. E. Johnston was wounded in the shoulder just before night, and had to give up the command. Genl. Rodes was wounded, and great numbers of others high in rank.

My pay, Capt. Barksdale, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$33.75¢.

June, 1862

*Sunday, 1st.* Very warm to-day, this the first of summer. I went to church in the morning. General Lee has been put in immediate command of the Army in Virginia, on account of the wound Genl. Johnston received yesterday being of so serious a character as to force him to keep in the house for some time. I went to the Spotswood Hotel at ten o'clock, P.M., and saw Dr. Peachey amputate the right arm of Surgeon Gaillard, of Genl. G. W. Smith's division: the arm was fractured just above the elbow joint, by a minnie ball, in the fight yesterday. Dr. Petticolas and Dr. Brewer, with Dr. Scott and Surgeon General Moore assisted. Several other physicians were present. Dr. Peachey gave his patient chloroform, and amputated the arm beautifully. Richmond was full of the wildest rumors all day, most of which proved to be utterly false. There was a little fighting early in the morning, but the lines were quiet the rest of the day. Col. Gorgas and I walked down main street in the afternoon, and found it crowded with people. We must have met two or three hundred stragglers from the Army—most of them with their arms. There seems to be a melancholy want of system and discipline in our whole Army affairs: citizens going to camp, and soldiers coming in without let or hindrance.

*Friday, 6th.* Nothing of special importance occurred on our lines the past five days. We have had unusually heavy rains, and all the streams are very high.

*Sunday, 8th.* Anita reached here from Salisbury this afternoon: she was right unwell with sick headache. To-day has been a fine day. A little skirmishing on part of the lines. I feel happy, now, to get my dear wife back with me again. We have our old room at Mrs. Duval's—the front room, on the third floor, which we occupied when we first came to Richmond a year ago, and in which our dear baby sickened and died. Genl.

Cooper, and his son, Sam, both appeared to regret my leaving the General's.

*Monday, 9th.* Beautiful day. Great rumors of victories achieved by Jackson's in the Valley of Va., are rife to-day, and are credited by all classes. I worked hard at the office all day. Jackson has whipped Fremont and Shields near Fort Republic, Va. Fights on yesterday and to-day.

*Saturday, 14th.* My wife and I sent Mrs. Myers a set of vases today (or rather a pair) for which we gave twenty six dollars—twenty five for vases, and one dollar for freight. Very warm and dry today, and for two or three days past.

*Sunday, 15th.* Today is the anniversary of our wedding — the third year of married life. We went to church in the morning, and heard a metaphysical sermon from Bishop McGill on the Trinity — this being Trinity Sunday. The sermon was learned, clear, and very beautiful.

It is reported today that Stuart, with his Cavalry, has burnt some of the Yankee vessels on the Permukey, burnt some of their wagons, destroyed a bridge on the York River Rail Road, run off a number of their horses and mules, and captured one or two hundred prisoners. The weather is extremely warm.

*Monday, 16th.* Stuart's performance has been brilliant. He entirely flanked McClellan's whole army. He destroyed a hundred wagons, brought in three hundred mules and horses, and came entirely around to the James River side. This will give Genl. Lee most valuable information, and place McClellan in a ridiculous position as a military commander.

*Thursday, 26th.* Genl. Lee today ordered Genl. A. P. Hill's Division across the Chickahominy, via the meadow bridge. Mechanichsville was taken, after a sharp contest, in a most gallant style. Longstreet and Magruder crossed over *via* the Mechanichsville turnpike bridge late in the evening. The cannonading was terrific — that and the volleys of musketry, could distinctly be heard in Richmond. Hundreds of ladies and



gentlemen went out to the northern suburbs of the city to hear the firing. The bursting of shells, and the flash of the heavy guns could be distinguished very plainly after night fall. The firing ceased a little after nine, P.M. Beautiful day. Great excitement, but still not a sign of disorder and few, very few stragglers.

*Friday, 27th.* The fight was renewed at about half after four, A.M., today. The Yankees were driven from one position to another, until darkness closed the contest. We took some strong nooks, and captured a large number of prisoners. Various rumors were afloat, and most of us were greatly delighted — some croakers there were: who seemed incredulous of any good news—they affected to think McClellan has retreated to entrap us.

*Saturday, 28th.* Fine weather still. Some eighteen hundred prisoners came up before dinner today. Brig. Genl. J. F. Reynolds, Major Clitg, Major Whiting, and other officers of the regular Army amongst them.

*Sunday, 29th.* Last night McClellan evacuated his entrenched camp on this side of the Chickahominy, and retreated with his whole force towards the James. Magruder had an artillery fight with the rear guard towards night, and killed a great many Yankees, it is said.

*Monday, 30th.* A severe fight between the Yankees and Genl. A. P. Hill's Division, aided by a portion of Longstreet's Division, took place this afternoon, in which our loss was very heavy, and that of the Yankees believed to be very much heavier still. We captured Major Genl. G. A. McCall, and Brigadier Genl. Meade. Beautiful weather.

My pay, Capt. Barksdale, was \$158.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$35.25¢.

July, 1862

*Tuesday, 1st.* The weather continues to be fine. Today the body of Mr. Walter Abbott, who was a First Lieutenant in a company

of the 11th Va. Vols., and in command of the company at the time of his death on the afternoon of yesterday, was brought to Mr. Duval's, his father in law, in the afternoon. His poor wife was terribly shocked, and fainted when she was told of her husband's death. He was shot through the head, the ball entering just over the left eye. We dressed the body, and it was placed in a coffin as soon as possible. Mr. Pulaski and Mr. Brown sat up with the corpse.

*Wednesday, 2nd.* Raining hard this morning, and continued most of the day. Nothing special going on today. We buried Mr. Abbot about 11 A.M., in the midst of the rain.

*Thursday, 3rd.* Fine weather again. McClellan and his army still retreating.

*Friday, 4th.* Beautiful bright day. Anita and I called to see Mrs. Randolph, the wife of the Secretary, and Mrs. Genl. Huger, Mrs. Col. Long, and Mrs. Shober.

*Saturday, 5th.* Nothing special going on today. Fine weather.

*Sunday, 6th.* Lovely day. I went to church in the morning; and heard a fine sermon from Bishop McGill: a doctrinal sermon on the parable of the fishermen letting down their nets and taking great multitudes of fish. The application the Bishop made was that our Saviour taught from Peter's ship — that no other than the Catholic church is the true ship, rock or church. He preached nearly an hour.

*Thursday, 10th.* Genl. Winder left Mrs. Duval's today, and moved up to the corner of Franklin and 2nd streets. Rained some today.

*Saturday, 12th.* Fine day. Genl. Lee has moved his Hd. Qrs. back to Dobb's House, on the nine mile, or stony run road, 2½ miles from the city. The whole Army has been brought back to the lines occupied before the fight. Anita and I moved down today to the room on the first floor at Mrs. Duval's which we

occupied before Anita went to N.C. Capt. Myers is up here from Salisburg.

*Sunday, 13th.* Anita and I went to church in the morning, and heard a sermon from the Bishop on the virtue of charity. Fine weather.

*Sunday, 20th.* The past week was not characterized by anything unusual around Richmond. It is said that a full arrangement has been entered into between the Yankee Government and our own for a mutual exchange of prisoners. We have lately had successes in Tennessee and Kentucky by our partizan rangers and regular cavalry. Forrest has captured Murfreesboro, Tenn., and Morgan has gotten into the heart of Kentucky. A great panic prevails in the North. Today is the anniversary of the death of our dear baby: we went to church in the morning. Fine weather.

*Monday, 21st.* Today is the anniversary of the battle of Manassas. Anita and I took tea at Mr. James Prucell's. Deshler took dinner with us: he had not seen us here since just a year ago.

*Tuesday, 22nd.* I have today received from the President the appointment of Lt. Col. in the Adjutant Genls. Department of the Provisional Army, to take rank from January 1, 1862. Cousin Thomas Adams spent the evening with us. Fine day.

*Wednesday, 23rd.* Mrs. Duval, Anita and I rode out to Mr. Pulaskis after dinner, and did not get back until half after nine, P.M. Anita was quite unwell all day with sick headache. Rained a little in the afternoon. Major Palfrey, Asst. Adjt. Genl. Provisional Army, has been assigned to duty in the office at my request: he is a graduate of West Point.

*Saturday, 26th.* Nothing special the past three days—weather good. Rained this afternoon, and at night.

Today I drew my back pay from January 1st., 1862 to June 30th., 1862, (that is the difference between my pay as Captain

and Lieutenant Colonel), from Capt. Barksdale, A.Q.M. The amount was two hundred and seventy dollars (\$270.00¢). My back commutation for the same period, on same account, which was paid me by Captain Whitfield, A.Q.M., was seventy one dollars and fifty cents, (\$71.50¢), a total of three hundred and forty one dollars and fifty cents. This will help me along very considerably: my expenses for boarding have nearly doubled of late, although I am at the same place and have no more room than heretofore.

*Sunday, 27th.* Anita and I went to church in the morning. Fine weather.

*Wednesday, 30th.* Very warm yesterday, and today. Rained hard in afternoon. My pay this month, as Lieut. Col. Capt. Hutter, A.Q.M., was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. Whitfield, was \$47.00¢. This, with my back pay from January 1st., to June 30th., \$270.00¢, and my back commutation for same period, \$71.50¢ both of which I drew on the 26th. Instant, make my pay this month amount to \$591.50¢.

### August, 1862

*Friday, 1st.* My wife left here for the Alleghany Springs this morning, in company with Mrs. Branch, and Mr. & Mrs. Bulckley — Charlotte went along with Anita. Beautiful day. Dr. Curtis, Mrs. Williams father, was buried out at his late farm, about eight miles from the city. We have news today that some of our artillery attacked McClellan's fleet last night after midnight, and it is surmised that great damage was done. It took place from Coggin's Point, opposite McClellan's camp.

*Saturday, 2nd.* Major Whiting, A.A. Genl., Provisional Army, went on duty in the office today. This will relieve me greatly. He is to be in Genl. Cooper's room, where Col. Chilton formerly was. Fine weather — cloudy towards night.

*Sunday, 3rd.* Very warm and showery. I went to church in the morning, and heard a good sermon from the Bishop on the giving

*Monday, 4th.* Very warm all day, and in the evening. Caldwell and I called at Mrs. Nelson's after tea, and then took a long walk. I was very busy at the office all day long.

*Thursday, 7th.* Weather still intensely warm. Mrs. Cochrane, (Billy Beall's sister) and her grown daughter Miss Ada, got here yesterday, having run the blockade from Fredericksburg. They came to see me this morning, and wanted to find where their brother was.

*Friday, 8th.* Major Whiting, Mr. Branch, Mr. Caldwell and I rode down in a carriage to Drewry's Bluff in the afternoon: the weather was intensely hot. We saw Captain Smith Lee, of the Navy, who is in command at Drewry's. Capt. Chetard, Capt. Barney, and Capt. Tucker, C.S. Navy, and other gentlemen who are stationed there. They kindly had us shown all around, and were otherwise very polite and attentive to us.

We had a most agreeable visit, and returned so as to reach the City by ten, P.M. The works at Drewry's look as if, they were impregnable to any Naval attack, and will be very difficult to reduce by a combined land and naval attack.

*Saturday, 9th.* Mrs. Cochrane and Miss Ada, failing in the attempt to get rooms elsewhere, today came to Mrs. Duval's and accepted of my room — I moved up to Mr. Branche's and took part of his bed.

*Sunday, 10th.* I went to church in the morning. The Bishop gave us a very good sermon. Not many persons present — or rather not so many as usual. Weather intensely hot until about 5½ P.M., when we had a shower of rain accompanied by a breeze which was truly refreshing.

*Friday, 15th.* The weather has been pleasant this week. Mr. Caldwell left for Texas yesterday. A great many troops are leaving here to join Jackson's command: they go up by the central cars.

*Saturday, 16th.* Robert Brown and I rode out to Mr. Pulaski's



about 6 miles north east of the City, late in the afternoon, and stayed all night. Delightful weather.

*Sunday, 17th.* Mrs. Pulaski, Mrs. Harney (a lady visitor) and I went to church in the forenoon: the country church is the same at which Mr. Wilmer, now Bishop of Alabama, used to officiate. We heard a tolerable sermon from Mr. Walker, formerly of Alexandria. Brown and I returned to the City in the afternoon—having had a most charming visit. Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie were at Mrs. Winn's when we returned—having arrived by the afternoon train from Lynchburg.

*Monday, 18th.* Lovely weather still. Beautiful days, and nights just cool enough to enjoy a blanket. Congress met today — a quorum in both branches was present. The President's message was read, and the two houses adjourned.

*Tuesday, 19th.* Fine day. Troops still passing through in route to join Genl. Lee at Gordonsville. McClellan has certainly abandoned his positions, on both sides of the James, which he lately occupied some thirty miles below this City.

*Saturday, 23rd.* Cousin Virginia spent the day at Mrs. Duval's: Cousin Clement came down and took tea — they went home soon after tea. Quite warm today. Rained quite hard a little while after dark. Yesterday I received a letter from my dear wife saying she had been right sick for a day or two, and feared she had had a chill. This evening I received another telling me she was very well again. Last night I received a box of fruit by express, but have not as yet gotten any letter telling me to whom I am indebted for so nice a present. I rather expect that my friend Captain Myers has laid one under this additional obligation.

*Sunday, 24th.* Heard the Bishop preach this morning: no music. Wrote to Anita, and Mrs. Gov. Bell, after church. Dined at Mr. John Purcell's — he has lately returned from a two months trip up the country. Beautiful day. Several of us went with Capt. Maynard out to call on Mr. Cowardic late in the afternoon.

*Monday, 25th.* I today received a box from Raleigh, N.C., per

express, which had been on the way since the 9th Inst. It contained a little keg of whiskey, a present from my friend Capt. W. W. Pierce, A.Q.M. Fine day.

*Wednesday, 27th.* Left Richmond in the morning, at 8 o'clock, and reached Lynchburg at 6, P.M. Met a brother of Jno. M. Jones' on the way, and put up at the Cabell House with him. Met several acquaintances in the City.

*Thursday, 28th.* Left Lynchburg about daylight, and got to the Alleghany Springs at 12½ o'clock in the day. Found my wife very well.

*Friday, 29th - Saturday, 30th.* Spent these two days most delightfully. Beautiful weather, lovely place, good fare, and with my dear wife — I was as happy as I could expect to be.

*Sunday, 31st.* Left the Alleghany Springs at one, P.M., and reached Lynchburg after dark. Stayed at the Piedmont House—miserable hotel, full of rats. My pay this month, Capt. Hutter, was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Capt. J. F. Whitfield, was \$73.00¢.

Monday, September 1st., 1862

I came down from Lynchburg to Richmond today. Genl. & Mrs. J. E. Johnston got on the cars at Jetersville, the depot for the Amelia Springs, and came down with me. The General's general health appears to be very good.

*Sunday, 7th.* The weather has been beautiful the past week. The week has been an eventful one, Genl. Lee having whipped McClellan's and Pope's combined armies at Manassas on the 30th. Ult., and Genl. Kirby Smith having whipped Nelson's army at Richmond, Ky., our armies have this week been advancing upon the enemy. The greater portion of Genl. Lee's army has entered Maryland, and Kirby Smith has moved up towards Cincinnati. Our prospects are brighter now than they have been during the war.

I went to church in the morning, and heard the Bishop on the subject of confession and penance: the text was from the parable of the ten lepers who were cleansed and directed by our Saviour to go show themselves to the Priests — only one of whom returned to give thanks to Jesus, who had healed them. I dined with Mr. John Purcell. Mrs. Purcell returned home yesterday.

*Monday, 8th.* Beautiful weather — lovely, moonlight nights. We hear that the Yankees have evacuated North Alabama, and portions of Tennessee. Bragg is after them.

*Wednesday, 10th.* Anita returned from the springs in the afternoon, by the central train, having come from Lynchburg, via Charlottesville, she is much improved by the trip. We have extravagant rumors to the effect that Kirby Smith has captured Cincinnati, and other wonderful things.

*Friday, 12th.* Rained a little tonight. Very close and warm all the afternoon. Rumored that Baltimore has been surrendered to the Confederate Army. Genl. Lee writes encouragingly of the feeling in Maryland and says our Confederate currency is taken by the people in payment for supplies — this is much better than the people of Kentucky did last year. In the latter State we had to pay gold for supplies, notwithstanding the State had Senators and Representatives in our Congress, and had been regularly admitted as one of the Confederate States. I trust greatly in the loyalty of Maryland.

*Saturday, 13th.* No news today from our armies. Two thousand five hundred Yankee prisoners left here yesterday on their return home paroled and exchanged. I dined with Capt. Maynard today.

*Sunday, 14th.* Anita and I went to church in the morning. Beautiful day. Father Mullen preached: no music. The Bishop is absent from the City on a few days visit to the springs. I dined at Mr. Purcell's. After dinner Capt. Maynard took us out to Mechanichsville and Beaver Dam.

*Tuesday, 16th.* Took breakfast with Capt. Maynard at Mr. Purcell's. After breakfast we started on a trip to the battlefields. Mr. John Purcell, John Cowardice, Capt. Maynard and I went to Mechanichsville, Beaver Dam, the Woodbury road or grape vine bridge road, down to Savage's Station, and up by Fair Oaks. We called back to the City about seven, P.M. We had a most charming day of it. My face was worse sunburnt than any of the party. We took more than we would a fine dinner at home.

*Wednesday, 17th.* It is reported today that Genl. Lee has captured Harper's Ferry, and eight thousand prisoners. Anita and I spent the evening with Cousin Clement and Cousin Jeannie — the latter just returned here from North Carolina the day before yesterday.

*Thursday, 18th.* Today having been set apart by the President as one of thanksgiving, the business houses and the public offices were closed, and services held in various churches. Anita and I went to church at ten, a.m. The weather has been beautiful this week — it is very warm today.

*Sunday, 28th.* Fine weather the past ten days, and beautiful today. Anita and I went with a party to Drewry's Bluff last Wednesday. Today we went to church at ten a.m. and heard Father Mullen. Mrs. Genl. Walker (Sophia Baylor) arrived here from N.C., the night before last, and is stopping at Mrs. Duval's. Cousin Jeannie spent the day with Anita yesterday, and Cousin Clement dined with us. Mr. Baylor, the free trade man, spent the evening at Mrs. Duval's — he is a very plausible and interesting man.

*Tuesday, 30th.* Beautiful weather. My pay this month, Captain Hutter, A.Q.M., was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Maj. J. F. Whitfield, A.Q.M., was \$74.00¢.

October, 1862

*Saturday, 4th.* Fine weather. Nothing special going on.

*Saturday, 11th.* Rained today for the first time in some weeks,

with the exception of a warm shower yesterday. Turned cool today.

*Sunday, 12th.* Cold and damp all day — dark night.

*Monday, 13th.* Congress adjourned today. Rainy and cold. We had fire in the parlor, during the afternoon and evening, for the first time this Fall. I went up to see Cousin Clement & Cousin Jeannie in the evening — Cousin Clement called to see us in the afternoon.

*Tuesday, 14th.* Cloudy and damp today, but milder than yesterday. Nothing special going on. Cousin Jeannie came to see Anita this morning.

*Friday, 31st.* Fine weather for some weeks. Poor Aaron Cohen, who was our first messenger at Montgomery, died a few days since of inflammation of the stomach. My pay, Capt. Hutter, was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Maj. Whitfield, was \$112.50¢.

### November, 1862

*Saturday, 1st.* Nothing special going on.

*Sunday, 2nd.* Spent the day at Mr. Grant's a few miles in the country from Richmond. Jno. Purcell, Maynard, and a few others of us had a most agreeable day. Old Mr. Goddin, 82 years of age, and Mr. Dill, 72 years of age, were with us, and contributed greatly to the amusement of all present by their jokes on each other. I called to see Genl. Lee when I returned to the City.

*Wednesday, 5th.* Genl. Lee, Genl. Bragg, and Genl. E. K. Smith, have all been here within the past ten days, but have all left now. Rained this evening.

*Thursday, 6th.* Quite cool and damp all day.

*Friday, 7th.* When we awoke this morning we found, to our



amazement, that the country was covered with snow. Snow continued to fall nearly all day, but melted in the streets almost as fast as it fell. Joe Dwyer, my wife's brother, got here early this morning. We are perfectly delighted to see him, and especially to see him looking as well. He is one of the finest looking men to be found.

*Sunday, 9th.* Joe, Anita, and I went to church in the morning. We dined at home. The snow is melted, and the weather much milder.

*Thursday, 13th.* The weather this week has been fine. Joe and Anita, and Joe and I, have visited most of our friends in the City this week. Genl. Polk, and Genl. Heth are here from Bragg's army. It is believed now that Genl. Joe Johnston is to go to Tennessee to take command of Bragg's army.

*Sunday, 23rd.* Anita and I went to church in the morning, but I had to leave to make room for some ladies. We dined at James Purcell's. Joe is still here. Mrs. Walker left here last Wednesday—she goes to Marietta, Georgia, to remain with her mother and the General goes to the trans-Mississippi to report to Genl. Holmes. Beautiful day. Weather right cold.

*Sunday, 30th.* Anita, Joe and I went to church in the morning, and dined at home. Pleasant day.

My pay this month, Capt. Barksdale, was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Major Whitfield, was \$123.00¢

### December, 1862

*Monday, 1st.* Nothing of special interest transpiring. Weather quite moderate for the season.

*Thursday, 4th.* Fine day—pretty frosty in the morning and at night. Smallpox reported to be spreading in the City. Anita and I were vaccinated by Dr. Brewer this morning. Joe Dwyer left for San Antonio by the Lynchburg train at six o'clock in the afternoon.

*Sunday, 7th.* Very cold last night and today: the water in the hall hydrant has been frozen all day. Clear and bright. Anita and I went to church in the morning and remained at home the rest of the day.

*Thursday, 11th.* Beautiful weather. Abolition army began the passage of the Rappahannock today. Three pontoon bridges were thrown across — one at Fredericksburg, and two below. The enemy occupied Fredericksburg by night time.

*Friday, 12th.* Fine day. Enemy crossing the Rappahannock on their bridges all last night and to-day, under cover of their guns which are posted on the North bank. Anita went over to Petersburg to-day, to make a little visit to Cousin Thomas Withers. Cousin Edmond went with her. Whiting, Palfrey and I went up and took some roasted oysters and real coffee with Maj. A. D. Banks in the evening. Mr. Davis, our worthy President, left here two or three days since on a short visit to Mississippi. Brig. Genl. Joe Davis went with him.

*Saturday, 13th.* Brunside attacked Genl. Lee at Fredericksburg to-day, and was repulsed at all points. Genl. T. R. R. Cobb, on our side, was killed, and Genl. Maxcy Gregg badly wounded. Beautiful day. I went to Petersburg.

*Sunday, 14th.* Very mild. Anita went to church with Mrs. Hinton. Dr. Dunn and I took a long buggy ride. Very little fighting in Genl. Lee's army to-day. Genl. Evans, near Kinston, N.C., had a brush on yesterday with Genl. Foster's Yankee forces, and held them in check.

*Monday, 15th.* I returned to Richmond in the morning. Genl. G. W. Smith, who went to Petersburg Saturday, went to Goldsboro, N.C., this morning with his staff.

*Sunday, 21st.* Fine weather still. Bitter cold yesterday and to-day. Anita and I went to church in the morning.

*Thursday, 25th.* This is a lovely Christmas day, and thousands in this City, and elsewhere, are enjoying it to the full. Our

household, however, at Mrs. Duval's have been rendered sad beyond expression by the death of Major Jasper S. Whiting, Asst. Adjt. Genl., who breathed his last at ten minutes before four o'clock, A.M. He was taken ill last Friday night, the 19th Inst., of what proved to be malignant scarlet fever. He was buried at the request of the physician, Dr. Peachey, at four o'clock this afternoon. He was buried with military honors in the beautiful cemetery near this City. Mr. Mennegerode, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, officiated—the funeral taking place from his church of which Major Whiting was a member. Mrs. Whiting is almost heart broken, and we are all deeply grieved at this sad berevment.

*Saturday, 27th.* To-day Captain Jno. C. Maynard and I went out to the cemetery and had Major Whiting's body removed to Capt. Maynard's private enclosure in the cemetery. Warm to-day. Sprinkled rain a little most of the day, and rained a good deal towards night, and after night. My dear wife was quite sick last night, and has been in bed all day: the Doctor, Dr. Dean, says she has taken a slight cold.

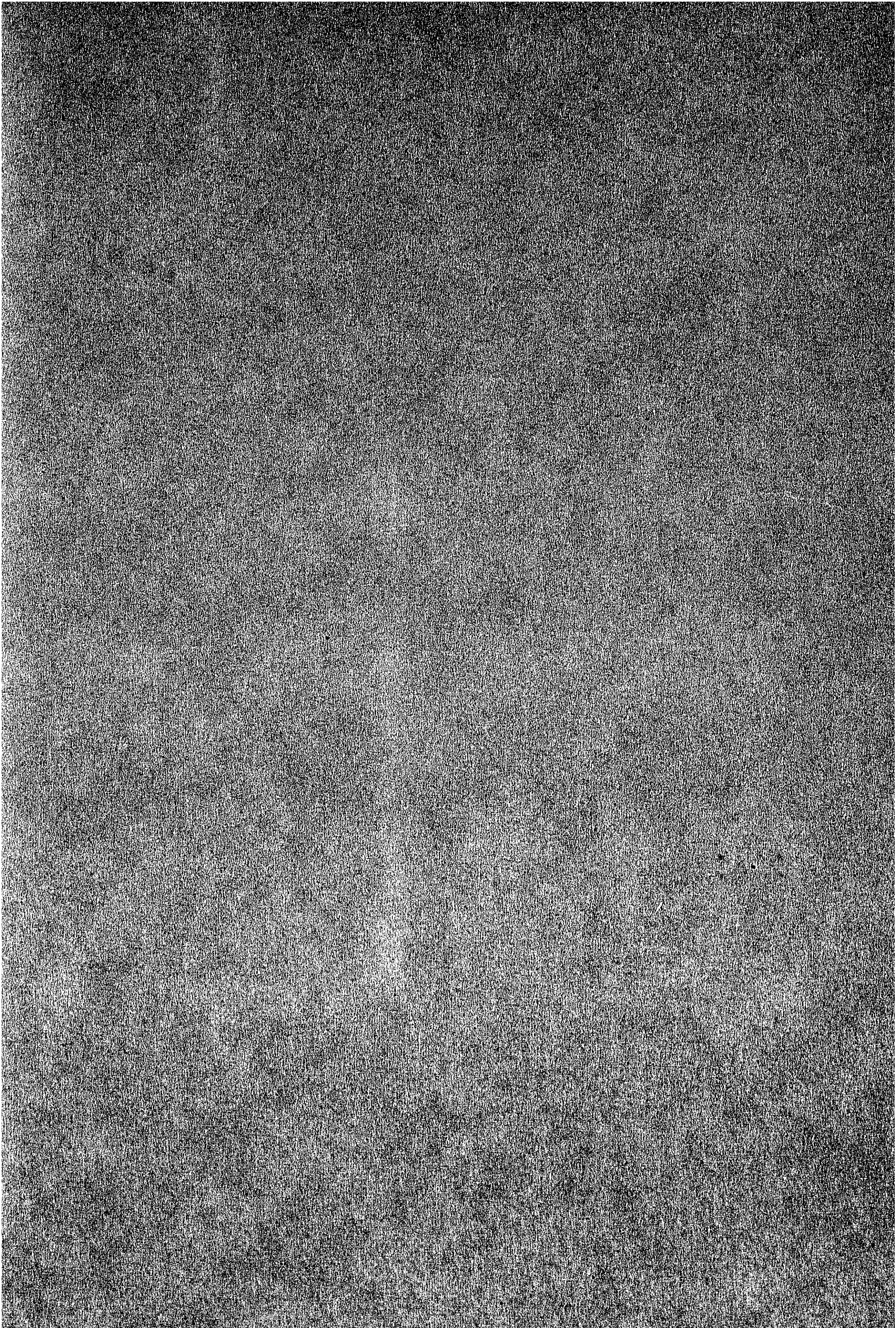
*Sunday, 28th.* I went to church in the morning—Anita was too weak to go out. I called at Mr. Jno. Purcell's after tea.

*Monday, 29th.* I called to see Genls. Hood and Chilton, and Col. Long, in the afternoon.

*Tuesday, 30th.* I have not felt very well for the past two or three days. My hands and feet have been perspiring day and night. This morning I spat up bile three or four times. I have been very moderate in my diet for a couple of days. My back hurts me a little.

*Wednesday, 31st.* My pay this month, Capt. Barksday, was \$203.00¢, and my commutation, Major Whitfield, was \$130.00¢.







# THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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